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EDITORIAL¹

I

EDUCATION IN SAFETY OR SAFETY IN EDUCATION

Ever since the immediate aftermath of the World War gave occasion and opportunity for the introduction of accident prevention into education, a confusion has existed. The title of this discussion is intended to bring forward the existence of this confusion. No doubt the mere setting forth of the confusion and the clarification of the problems involved can serve as a starting point for new and effective educational work within this field.

It is not of course necessary or even desirable to find fault with the pioneers in St. Louis and elsewhere for not discovering this confusion. We as educators and sociologists know perfectly well that the development of sociological science and educational practice must have the existence of a confusion and the recognition of it as starting points.

During the first decade or so of accident-prevention work through educational means, the essential problem was to discover as many ways as possible, as many occasions as possible, and as

¹ The Editor of the JOURNAL has always pursued the policy of allowing complete freedom to the Issue Editor to present whatever point of view he desires, with no modification. The fact that the opinion of the Issue Editor in many cases is different from that of the Editor requires no special comment—*The Editor*

many devices as possible to link these two activities. A distinction between "education in accident prevention" and "accident prevention in education" would have been without significance at this stage. The situation has, however, developed vastly beyond the scope within which there is no occasion to differentiate. We are now at that stage at which the recognition of distinct types of activity will naturally aid in making it convenient and practicable to continue the development of educational safety work.

We may even consider accident prevention as one of the major objectives of education. My own reaction has been consistently to consider it rather as one of the first subdivisions—and in many respects the most important and extensive thereof—under the generally accepted and agreed-upon educational objective of *health or maintenance of health*. I confess an inability to draw a real distinction between the high-school senior who allows himself to be invaded by bacteria and laid up and the one who indulges in sand-lot football outside of school hours and is laid up with a broken tibia.

We need not, however, quarrel as to the exact place of safety in any hierarchy of educational objectives. Its importance is literally so obvious that it seems incredible that any need to make the teaching profession more conscious of that necessity should have to be undertaken.

When we speak of "education in accident prevention," we are really fundamentally thinking of educational work in which the creation of safety habits, safety attitudes, and along with them safety knowledge is a conscious and deliberate educational purpose.

In contrast to this is "accident prevention in education." By this we fundamentally mean the sort of activity which throughout the various subjects of instruction uses accident-prevention content. It will be obvious to the practical educator that in many cases this is exceedingly effective. Likewise, it will be just as obvious to him that two possibilities of negative results must be considered. The first of these possibilities lies in the disposition of pupils perhaps to be-

come a wee bit sated and even disgusted with the dragging in of safety content literally by one hair of its head or one toenail into any possible subject. With all due respect to various pioneers, we may really doubt whether the so-called safety problems in arithmetic which were wangled into some junior-high-school texts a dozen years or more ago were not so conspicuously artificial and so far from the possible interests of the pupils as to produce a negative attitude.

Let us not, however, get the idea that accident prevention in education is inherently useless. Those of us who have ever taught shop-work or chemistry or domestic science know that safety content is at many points a logical and indeed a necessary portion of the course of study. Many years of conversing with science teachers when off guard indicated to me that only the cast-iron rigid requirements set by college entrance examinations prevented widespread use of certain safety material in science courses.

It is my belief as editor of this number of the JOURNAL that if I can convince the readers that there are two distinct and separate portions of educational activity involving safety, I shall have rendered them able to direct and develop this phase of education to greater advantage than has hitherto been possible.

II

TECHNIQUES

In an article published elsewhere in this number, Dean Payne has referred repeatedly to the comparatively disappointing results of safety education up to now.

It would not be fair to let this opportunity pass without urging that there is a great lack of information as to effective techniques in safety education of all sorts. We literally and actually do not have any positive and consistent information as to how to do safety education properly.

Little as our knowledge is of which particular items of safety education most urgently need to be taught, still less do we have any definite and elaborated techniques for teaching them. At the risk of being thought old-fashioned, I venture to state that a scheme of method—or rather several schemes of method—as definite as the famous Five Formal Steps of Herbart should be developed. For each type of desired use a definite effective procedure can and should be discovered. It is too early to hope for discovering the most effective procedure possible; but the harassed teacher in the classroom really does need a cookbook recipe to aid her in safety teaching.

One recipe should give us safety attitudes; another should aim at safety habits; and an entirely different recipe is clearly indicated if we are going to produce safety information as the major product of the lesson.

The next step beyond this is the development of alternative techniques and their evaluation in terms of effectiveness to evaluate them properly. Experimental didactics after the most rigid manner of Lay and Meumann are needed. The experimental methods of these men will have to be used if we are to find out which of several effective recipes works best.

This type of research is not congenial to us Americans but until we buckle down to at least some measure of it we shall continue to lament the ineffectiveness of our safety education.

In the dozen years since I last taught a class or had a part in the administration of a school, I have not forgotten the problems which face the harassed teacher with a large class of more or less reluctant pupils to teach. Eight years in supplying textbooks, workbooks, and the like have taught me that the everyday honest, hard-working teacher, really desirous of doing the best possible for a roomful of children, needs every possible aid; that, recruited as she is from the entire cross section of the community, she cannot be expected to show too much ingenuity and resourcefulness in developing her own teaching procedures. In all sympathy with the needs of the

hundreds of thousands of devoted teachers, I ask for the development of precedures which these honorable and unappreciated people may use in safety education.

The type situation is not the teacher in the advanced school, working under favorable conditions. Far more typical is the situation in which so many teachers find themselves: classes too large; funds for equipment and supplies meager; administration unaware of the problems, and in many cases even actual hostility to anything but the traditional "Three R's" from parents.

I put in this plea for making the possibilities of safety education available to even the teacher working under the most difficult conditions. For her sake let us reduce it to a set of techniques and even put it on a "cookbook basis"

III

ARE WE IMPLYING TRANSFER?

One thing that plagues some of us in considering most reports on the results of education in accident prevention is an undercurrent which we seem to detect and which we do not like. This undercurrent is a sort of tacit implication that the results of training readily spread and are readily transferred.

It seems to be taken for granted that education in street safety will produce a safety attitude that may effect activity in the home or the school or elsewhere. It would be hard to quote a definite and specific statement; but even if there is no more than a vague and undefined attitude present among educators, it certainly will have its effect in limiting or directing the thinking.

I speak, not as an impartial observer, but as one with very definite prejudices. I am frankly prejudiced in favor of the idea that accident prevention is a legitimate and important educational purpose. I am openly prejudiced in believing that Edward L. Thorndike has definitely shown that transfer or spread of training is so small

in extent and so erratic in occurrence that we cannot count on it in any educational situation.

The result of these two prejudices is to make me desire to criticize current trends in the interest of attaining greater effectiveness. I literally mean that there is far greater need of specific education in the specific risks and the methods of avoiding them.

We are perhaps unduly likely to believe that the knowledge of electricity acquired in high-school science will be sufficient to caution pupils against the "silent hazard." In view of the incidence of accidents in the home, however, we need to consider that specific training is necessary.

Out on the highway, it may seem self-evident that an accident-conscious driver will avoid all causes of collision or other trouble—but yet something more is needed. The modern motor car, with its tremendous acceleration, easy speed surpassing that which the driver can readily control, and limitations on deceleration and steering set by the physics of the situation, has produced a new and different crop of potential and even actual danger situations.

If we are going to rely upon the "safety attitude," and such safety schools and knowledge as has previously been learned, to cope with this situation, we are leaning upon a thin reed indeed. The plain truth of the matter is that we have a situation with enough new elements to make transfer into it exceedingly unlikely and most infrequent.

These are two of the simpler and more obvious cases in which we are hampering our educational procedure and failing to accomplish our purposes because of the recrudescence of the incorrect psychological idea that transfer of training exists.

With all due respect for whatever work may have been done by Charles H. Judd and his disciples, the fact remains that even they have at best shown that spread or transfer of training is a possibility. They have shown that under conditions of high intelligence in the pupil, conscious effort on the part of the pupil and teacher to get

spread of training, and favorable content of instruction, a limited amount of spread fairly often takes place. This cannot be counted on for education in accident prevention.

The purpose of this agitational article, therefore, is to urge those interested in education in accident prevention to take the strict Thorndike point of view as a fundamental of psychology; to work from the Thorndike point of view and insist upon specific instruction to meet each specific accident situation of any importance.

IV

CONSUMER EDUCATION AGAINST ACCIDENTS

The field of education in safety would not be covered fully or properly if we did not add to the fact-finding, school administration, psychological, didactic, and industrial point of view at least a few words on the education of the consumer for safety.

Consciousness of hazards is being spread steadily but slowly by the bulletins on buying circulated by such organizations as Consumers Research and the Consumers Union. For years the former has been making a strong point in its lists of recommended articles of safety or the absence thereof as a basis for approving or not approving any article as a good purchase. This has been seen particularly in a few specific directions, which should be mentioned.

Electric hazards, especially shock hazards, have been duly given prominence in the ratings of household equipment. The need for instruction leading toward a safety attitude will be quite evident to any educator who has seen the almost universal existence of such danger as reported by these agencies.

Causes possibly leading to accident in the household use of dry-cleaning preparations such as are commonly sold at retail have been given good publicity.

In rating the new automobiles each year these agencies have gone

far in pointing out structural and operating features which may make certain cars risky in the hands of even competent and safety-minded drivers.

Here are just a few of many cases in which consumer education is being carried on with a definite safety content. Indeed, without disparagement of the fine and varied efforts reported to this point, in this number of this journal, it would seem to an observant outsider that the question of *safety in the household* has received far too little attention up to now. The main effort seems to be directed toward safety in the streets and on the highways. No doubt the need is great; but no observant person can doubt that there is great need for extension into another field. One often reads of broken ribs or arms from falls on slippery floors or in slippery bathtubs in the home. One hears reports of painful accidents to children playing with sharp kitchen utensils.

The work now being done toward consumer education in safety is but a shadow of a beginning, even though better than a hundred thousand individuals or families are known to have been reached by these organizations. Unfortunately, most of these are families that other means of safety education also reach. Those who most need this education are left in the outer darkness as yet.

STEPHEN G. RICH

THE APPLICATION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL METHODS TO SAFETY EDUCATION

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Four thousand school children were killed by automobiles in the United States last year. Behind the wheel of every automobile responsible for these deaths was a human being. Except in those rare cases where some unusual, unforeseeable event occurred, most of these deaths could have been prevented. When safety devices on automobiles have been perfected, roads properly graded, signs worked out to the last nicety of effectiveness, traffic ordinances standardized all over the country, and enforcement agencies freed from political influence, there still remains the behavior of the human driver.

One of the three famous "E's" in the safety program (engineering, enforcement, and education), the mightiest—education—is only beginning to be stressed. Perhaps the reason that the methods of educating for safety have developed so slowly is because they have been, until recently, the concern of engineers rather than educators. The emphasis has been upon producing attention-getting devices, without much concern with how effective the reaction was from the point of view of changing or influencing behavior.

The earliest attempts were by the use of posters—still a popular method. Strong colors and strong language were believed to make for safety. Here are a few slogans at a recent safety display:

Hurry Is the Greatest Driving Hazard
Bring Them Back Alive (picture of children in a car)
Must Others Be Careful For You
Drive Safely

Any one who has dealt with accidents and their causes at first hand and has tried to evaluate safety methods will realize that such

general statements do little to prevent accidents. Safe driving depends upon *building specific safe habits* of action, attitude, and thought. These habits are not built up through generalized warning, but through specific instruction and attention. At any safety conference, note the difference in attention when the speaker talks about driving safely and when he starts to describe how a skillful driver handles his car going around a curve. If posters are to be used in safety education, they should employ known psychological principles and should tell specifically how to perform a particular act safely.

Recently, motion pictures have been utilized to teach safety. And here the principles of psychology are being applied to a larger extent; but even here, horror, smash-ups, accidents greatly outweigh demonstrations of specific habits of safety which should be cultivated. *Just how to transfer a feeling of horror to a preventive safe act is a gap thus far neglected.*

Drivers' schools are a much nearer approach to effective education. They reach only a small percentage of drivers and as yet are purely voluntary in most cases. No employer would permit a green, untrained operator to take charge of a complicated and expensive production machine without assuring himself that the new employee has learned how to operate it safely and efficiently. Yet many States allow any one who purchases a car to operate on the crowded streets without preliminary instruction or a check-up on his skill in driving. The drivers' license requirements in even the most advanced States are tragically inadequate.

Efforts at making more stringent license requirements which include tests of reaction time, coordination, concentration of attention, etc., are gaining favor. Such tests have a distinct value; but from a practical point of view they would be difficult to administer if required for all licensed drivers. Unless the tests were of sufficient length to assure a fair sample of normal behavior and to allow for a complete adjustment of the individual to the test situation, they

would be obviously unfair. Furthermore, no such test has even been satisfactorily checked against sufficient reliable objective criteria to warrant rejection of an applicant on the basis of the test alone. They can, however, be used with utmost effectiveness:

- 1 To discover native defects and point out methods of compensation
- 2 To analyze causative factors in the case of repeaters
3. To educate the public in regard to individual differences in the various abilities necessary for good driving

This latter use is the most important. Just as most people believe that they can innately "size up the other fellow," so most drivers believe that they are good drivers. To demonstrate a slow reaction time or limited width of vision would indisputably point to a need for extra care in driving.

The human factor in accident prevention must be approached constructively if it is to bring results. Just as psychological principles have been applied to tests, so they can be applied to educating the public for safety. There are certain traditional habits and attitudes that have been developed through education and social pressure. Certain types of courtesy, for example, are almost universal. Those who do not observe them are frowned upon. People like to be thought courteous in certain specific kinds of situations. If people could be educated to *want* to be considered *safe drivers* rather than clever ones, a real step forward would be taken in the direction of accident prevention. In order to plan a method of reeducation of attitude toward driving, it is necessary to examine the present point of view and understand how it came about.

When automobiles first came into use they were a luxury. Those who owned and drove them looked upon them as much as a high-class toy. Unfortunately, the toy psychology has carried over. Many people still enjoy driving a car much as a small boy enjoys running a toy electric train. The game is to see how fast one can go, whether or not one can beat the red light, pass the next car before another appears in the opposite direction, park overtime without being

caught, or talk the officer out of a ticket. These are the accomplishments about which many drivers boast to their friends.

But the automobile is no longer a toy. It is a necessary and useful tool. It is no longer the rare possession of the wealthy, but provides, rather, the ordinary means of transportation for the great mass of the population. It is the method by which we go to and from work. It is a daily detail in the serious business of life. And the driver's attitude must be changed from that of play to that of pride in skillful and safe handling.

Now how can one go about changing such an attitude? As in all types of education, the habits of safe driving and road courtesy must be developed by the use of some fundamental motivation. Social approval must be shifted from admiration for the driver who boasts of his narrow escapes to distinct disapproval of those who take chances. A program for such reeducation must be carefully planned. Methods for evaluating psychological techniques used must be devised, just as they are for other experiments in which human behavior is involved.

It is one thing to *talk* safety and quite another to *develop automatic safe habits of driving and thinking*. What is needed is not more discussions of accident prevention in general and graphs showing increasing fatalities, but a greater sense of *individual responsibility*. Obviously, it is impossible to deal in detail with such a program in a brief paper, but a few suggestions may point the way and illustrate the method.

Safety campaigns have confined themselves to posters, motion pictures, lectures, and occasional driving schools voluntarily attended. There is a place for a new kind of campaign. Suppose such organizations as the Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and other so-called service luncheon clubs began to take safety seriously—not as a good thing for the other fellow, but as a vital way in which each member could make a contribution to his community through his own example and his attitude toward others.¹ Suppose each club began a

¹ See footnote 1 on page 13.

safety unit, and set out to make a record of safe driving for every member of the club, and devoted special meetings to the principles of safe driving, right turns, passing other cars, speed limits, double clutching, anticipating the action of others (with specific examples, such as pulling out from the curb, etc.). Slogans could be put on the cars. The reckless driver would become a matter of censure and scorn rather than of admiration. Such groups of well-known citizens could do much to mold the opinion of the community.

Commercial organizations employing truck drivers should have regular safety conferences for analyzing accidents in detail, testing and following up their drivers, and they should maintain an instructor whose business it is to correct improper driving habits. Prizes could be offered by the clubs or the city to organizations whose members made unusual safety records. Illustrated lectures and motion pictures which demonstrate specific safe habits should be presented constantly to the public in theaters, schools, and clubs. Agencies selling cars could cooperate by grading drivers and instructing those persons who buy cars, whether they be new or old drivers, in certain fundamental safe habits. If sufficient newspaper publicity were focused upon analyses of accidents in terms of human failures, many of our communities could be made safety-conscious. With the coöperation of the editors, the public could be given a daily lesson in safe driving; thus, from the reporting point of view, would be a constructive balance to the usual lurid tales of accidents.

There was a city in the far West which at one time took great pride in the cleanliness of its streets. By constant publicity and instruction in the public schools and elsewhere, the citizens were made to regard throwing a piece of paper carelessly on the street as a breach of loyalty to the ideals of cleanliness of that city. The careless driver could readily be termed as disloyal in a safety-conscious community. The tying up of the desire for public approval

¹ (*Editorial Note* As I have just finished a year as president of a Rotary Club, I can assure readers as well as Dr. Shellow that we are in so many community services and have so many calls on our time and effort that we must decline to take on even one more at any time no matter how apparently urgent.—S G R.)

and the emotion of loyalty to the idea of safety would furnish an adequate motivation for the cultivation and development of safe habits

The richest field for education is, of course, among the school children. They are the drivers of tomorrow. But even as children, they, by their opinion and attitude, affect the action of their elders. The child who watches the highway signs and points out to his father, "The sign says thirty miles per hour and you are going forty" reminds his father that he should not be setting an example of law infraction.

The importance of making children "safety conscious" has been almost universally recognized. Each community has developed its own method for bringing safety education into the schools. Safety cadets have been selected to assist other children at crossings. Motion pictures showing traffic hazards, proper ways of crossing the street, and possible accident situations are being used. Lectures by specialists in the field and talks by teachers and principals—all have made their contributions. While preparing this material, most educators and others interested in promoting safety have recognized the importance of tying up the intellectual appeal to some kind of an emotional drive. The establishment of any habit must be based upon an emotional drive. The establishment of any habit must be based upon some fundamental need or motivation which is inherent in the individual. In safety education, much stress has been laid upon *fear*. Pictures showing gruesome accidents have been used to attract the attention of the children with the hope that they would breed caution. In children, as with adults, in order that education may be effective, there must be as strong a drive to do the right thing as there is fear of doing the wrong thing.

To what natural motivation, then, can safety instruction be tied in order that children may be stimulated to *want* to be careful and to take a pride in their carefulness? One of the strongest emotions in children when they are members of a group is *loyalty*. If safety

education can somehow be tied up to the spirit of loyalty, this emotional drive will do much to instill attitudes and habits that will promote safe behavior.

Just as the boy can be encouraged to keep himself in good physical condition so that he may play on a football team that has the opportunity of winning glory for the school, so can he be interested in becoming a member of a school team, composed of all the children in the school, engaged in a contest among schools to go through the year without a single accident to any child. Safety contests between the schools may be utilized to instill a pride in safe habits. At the end of the year, a pennant presented by the police department of the community, the safety commission, or the board of education, or all three acting jointly might serve as a reward for the efforts made by the children.

The rules of the contest might include accidents to school children occurring not only in the vicinity of the school but anywhere in the community. The idea that a child attending, say the "Bancroft High School," is a safe child on all thoroughfares could readily be impressed.

The training for the contest might include the making of safety posters in the art period illustrating proper ways of crossing a street, riding a bicycle, looking out for traffic, and other common situations that the child must meet each day; lectures by experts, motion pictures, talks by teachers and principals, police officers, safety experts, and weekly safety slogans illustrated by posters displayed in each school.

Each child could be stimulated to feel responsible for every other child in the school. For example, John would not permit Bill to cross in the middle of the street because he would be breaking the safety rules of the school. The corner traffic officer could also be helpful in encouraging and helping the children in their attempt to win the pennant. When he saw a child about to cut in front of a car, he would remind him of the contest.

At the end of the school year pennants could be presented impressively to those schools with perfect records and credit given to all the children of the school.

The Lane Technical High School in Chicago has recently offered a course in driving. This is making a frontal attack upon the problem of accident prevention. If all young people could build safe habits at the *beginning* of their driving experience, reëducation during adulthood would not be necessary. It is far more difficult to teach the careless driver to be careful than to start the new driver off on the correct path. Industrial experience in the prevention of accidents has pointed to the rule that the way to prevent accidents is to teach the beginner safe habits as he learns to operate any machine, and to supervise him carefully until those habits become automatic. If along with the training in the driver's course, ideals of carefulness, pride in skill, and respect for the law are stressed, we will find our accident fatalities dropping in proportion to the number of young people so trained.

In communities where high schools cannot undertake such courses, a field on the outskirts could be designated as a training field and the local police department or some other public agency could offer such a course with practice, instruction, and supervision. A certificate showing that the young person has passed the "safe-driver" examination could be utilized to inspire students with a desire to operate well, and serve as a badge of accomplishment when attained.

In some communities there has been established the custom of having a "Safety Week" each year. The thought underlying this device was to focus the attention intensively for one week at least upon various safety matters, hoping that the educational drive during "Safety Week" would carry over for the rest of the year. It was patterned after "Fire Prevention Week." That is an entirely different matter, for during this week extra caution is taken to remove rubbish, and to call attention to specific fire hazards and have these

matters attended to immediately. It does not mean that one neglects fire prevention for the rest of the year, but the intensive campaign does serve to correct and to remove certain specific hazards which may have otherwise been overlooked. Some communities have repudiated the idea of "Safety Week" with the argument that "every week is safety week." There is a psychological value to intensive campaigns and there are also some disadvantages. After the week is over, attention may be relaxed to such an extent that even more accidents occur. And, again, so long as the campaign is in generalized terms, little good can be carried over. There is a method in which the advantage believed to be gained through a short intensive campaign can be made to work. If the whole year were devoted to a safety campaign and each month featured a specific, common, unsafe habit, and all were urged to concentrate during that month upon a particular driving practice, new and improved habits could be formed. This was found to work out very well with street-car accidents. A campaign to eliminate "alighting and boarding accidents" over a period of a month reduced them for years, so that the peak was never again reached. As each type of accident was discussed with the motormen and a monthly campaign inaugurated to call attention to the cause of methods of prevention, the curve of incidence of that particular accident dropped.

If an entire community could concentrate next month on avoiding accidents at intersections, let us say, by slowing down before each intersection where traffic is customarily heavy, by taking extra care with left and right turns; if every driver in the community would be conscious of that one source of accidents for a month, the habit of care in approaching intersections could be publicized with daily charts and graphs illustrating decreases due to the current campaign and thus increase the interest of the total community in safety. The same publicity could be carried into the schools, stressing careful crossing of streets, crossing with the traffic, looking both ways before crossing, etc., until this one source of accidents

would be uppermost in the consciousness of the members in the community. There is nothing but the application of another psychological principle; viz, that habits are built up by constant exercise and repetition, and that one cannot learn too many things at once.

The approach to safety education which has been briefly sketched in the preceding pages is not in any way meant to supersede those methods already in use, but rather to supplement them. Much attention will always need to be given to the engineering features of safety; even here some hints from experimental psychology might prove helpful. (For example, studies concerning the effectiveness of various colors and intensities of light.) The wording of warning signs, the distance ahead of the hazard where such signs should be placed, size and shape of letters, and many other matters which depend upon the reaction of a person to a stimulus, require psychological experimentation.

Enforcement will be an essential part of every safety program, for we learn both through punishment and reward, and those who cannot be inspired to respond to a psychology of pride in safety will need to be restrained from recklessness through fear of drastic and rigid enforcement of the laws.

But far greater progress will be made in the field of education when those who are responsible for safety education apply the psychological principles which have been demonstrated to work in other fields of learning. The use of constructive suggestions, the tying up of the desire for safety with a fundamental motivation, the stress on the perfection of specific safety habits, and the constant and continuous hammering away at accident causes, together with proper methods of preventing them in specific accident situations—all must be utilized to promote safety.

CONTEMPORARY ACCIDENTS AND THEIR NONREDUCTION

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For the past generation the American public and organizations engaged in the study of accidents and in efforts to bring about their reduction have been concerned with the increasing scope and severity of accidents and their vital significance as an economic problem. The social and economic seriousness of the accident situation is indicated by the fact that in 1936 approximately 110,000 persons were killed and the cost of these deaths was \$3,750,000,000. The number killed and the cost were higher than in any previous year in the history of the United States. About 400,000 persons were disabled permanently, and 10,300,000 temporarily. Among the fatal accidents 39,000 occurred in the homes of the country; 18,000 in industry, motor vehicles accounted for 38,500, and 15,500 were miscellaneous public accidents. Furthermore, the accidents caused by falls amounted to 25,000 and accidents to children under fifteen years of age reached a total of 15,500—an increase from 14,200 for the year 1935. The following table indicates further just what has taken place in the increase and spread of accidents since 1913.

ACCIDENT FACTS—1935

Year	Total	Motor Vehicles	Falls	Burns	Drowning	Railroad Accidents	Fire arms	Poison Gas	All Others
1913	82,460	4,227	14,881	8,983	9,875	12,342	2,400	3,467	26,285
1918	85,149	10,723	13,156	10,253	7,148	10,495	2,693	4,247	26,432
1923	84,528	18,394	14,114	9,063	6,814	7,026	2,940	2,712	23,465
1928	95,186	27,996	16,911	8,482	8,483	4,990	2,979	2,718	22,627
1933	91,087	31,363	21,746	7,341	7,465	3,973	3,026	1,668	14,595

This table indicates a constant increase in the number of accidents during the period covered. The decrease in 1933 was the result of the depression, unemployment, and the decline in the number of automobiles in use. There has been a marked increase in deaths from automobiles and falls, with a marked decrease in deaths from industrial mishaps, railway accidents, and burns. Some

progress has been made in reductions in certain groups, while others have become more and more severe. It is doubtful whether the accident-prevention agencies have affected the situation favorably at all. The decrease and increase appear to be natural accompaniments of social change.

This statistical story and its interpretation are not only tragic and indicative of social incompetence to deal with a major problem. They also require some explanation; they require an understanding of the causes of this terrible picture. For an explanation we have but to look at the history of mechanical invention and its effect upon the major aspects of our industrial, commercial, and home life in this period of development. The method of industrial production has been transformed by the introduction of new machinery and labor-saving devices of all kinds. Homes have become miniature production units with every conceivable gadget designed to lighten the burdens of the housewife. Finally, transportation and communication have undergone complete revolution, providing such means as the automobile and the radio for the comfort and enjoyment of the people. Verily, there has been a revolution in the number and kinds of mechanical instruments that have been provided for the comforts, for the relief from burdens, and for the enjoyment of mankind.

These mechanical devices, however, have brought with them death and destruction. Why? To any one who has viewed this process objectively the answer is obvious. We have not learned to use these tools of progress without disaster to ourselves. The instruments of progress, of ease, and of comfort have therefore turned out to be the deepest concern of our current civilization. The fact that one of these products of invention and industry, the automobile, should account for approximately 38,500 deaths and more than one million injuries in the year 1936, an increase from four deaths in 1907, speaks for itself and makes our so-called civilization a mockery.

The fundamental explanation of this situation is quite simple. We have centered our attention primarily upon the production of more and more of the gadgets to be used and have been concerned comparatively less and less with the adequate use of the instruments without disaster to ourselves. Our behavior has not correspondingly changed with these mechanical instruments of social progress. There has developed what the sociologists have chosen to call the "social lag"; that is, our intelligence and practices in the use of these instruments have not kept pace with their development. As just indicated, we have been little concerned with the details of their adequate use.

In order that accusations of ignorance might be avoided, let me say that I am fully aware of the work of the National Safety Council, the various local safety councils, and the numerous public officials who continued through these years to hold congresses and conferences, to publicize statistics, to pass ordinances, and to promote educational programs designed to indoctrinate the youth and the public in the ways of safety. The relative futility of these efforts in the face of constantly mounting accidents and hazards lies mainly, not in the lack of concern about the accident problem, but in the lack of an intelligent attack upon the problem of accidents and the methods of their prevention. The leadership of the safety movement is now and has been for a long time in the hands of an agency which has the appearance of a professional society or public-service agency. It is actually more nearly a trade association primarily interested in saving money for its members and incidentally in saving human lives.

This rather sweeping statement and implied indictment of the forces concerned with the prevention of accidents requires an explanation on my part of the manner in which these efforts have failed; and at least a suggestion of a constructive program looking to more effective efforts in the direction of accident reduction. The limitation of space makes possible the barest outline, but it may be

a beginning and can be followed later with more adequate details.

Whatever may be presented here of a constructive nature requires a review of a bit of history. The World War indicated many things of significance for the people of the United States, but one fact that stood in the forefront was the importance of man power. We began, following the war, to be feverishly active about the loss of human material from avoidable ill health and accidents. We also became aware of the fact that improvement in these conditions was inherent primarily in the behavior of people. We saw pretty clearly that if health was to be improved and accidents prevented, results depended upon changes in behavior of people. This was a philosophy which educators were ready generally to accept, and that implies that education in the largest sense is the only effective means of changing behavior. Educators were thus faced with the necessity of presenting an educational program that would be effective in the reduction of accidents. Such a program¹ was worked out experimentally in line with the general educational philosophy of the time and was generally accepted by educators. This program still offers the guiding principles for the educational effort in accident prevention.

In the light of these facts the question immediately arises as to the reason for the failure of a program of education that was adequate from the point of view of a philosophy of education and accepted by educators. Is there something wrong with the program or is the fault with the emphasis placed in its operation?

The answer is obviously with the latter. Much money has been spent in the elaboration of the program in so far as the techniques of instruction are concerned; but here the promotion work has been in the hands of those much less familiar with the schools and the work of education than the educators themselves. This money might have been spent in the accumulation of data indispensable to the operation of the program itself—data which teachers were not

¹ E. George Payne, *Education in Accident Prevention* (Chicago: Lyons and Carnahan, 1919)

in a position to get and were not equipped by training to acquire. The emphasis, in a word, has been placed upon the technique of instruction by those less familiar with educational theory and practice than the teachers themselves. The work that such an organization could legitimately do has been left undone, with the result that the educational program as operated has had little effect on the reduction of accidents. There is at the present very little if any altruistic or even wholly objective leadership in the movement for accident prevention in the United States. There are obviously some exceptions to this statement but in general it is correct.

Let us then examine this problem in the light of the foregoing explanation, to discover a more adequate approach to the problem of education in accident prevention, and to select the major cause of accidents. Let us take the automobile as an example. Our first problem is to determine the specific causes of accidents from the automobile, for we have already pointed out the general cause, inherent in the social lag. It is moreover obvious that we will find the causes not in the automobile as a hazard, but in the behavior of the driver on the one hand and the nondriving public, both children and adults, on the other. Furthermore, clearly our problem is to change the conduct of the driver and the nondriving public with reference to this hazard if we are to make progress in the elimination of accidents. There are two rather simple problems involved: simple in diagnosis and difficult in cure. The first relates to the selection and training of those who are to assume responsibility for driving automobiles. The second is the education of the youth and adult public with reference to automobiles as a public hazard.

It should be noted that there are about 27,000,000 automobiles owned and operated in the United States and there are perhaps 50,000,000 operators of these cars. Roughly estimating the number of accidents at more than one million in the year 1936, there is then at least one accident for each fifty drivers in this year. The problem, therefore, is to discover who these drivers are and what in

their make-up is responsible for the accident. We know next to nothing about the persons who are involved in accidents.

The method of selecting the operators of automobiles is certainly in large measure responsible for the accidents. In New York State, where perhaps as rigid an examination prevails as anywhere, the person seeking a license drives the car a few blocks, starts it, stops it, turns it around, is given a superficial color-blindness and vision test, and has thus demonstrated his fitness to receive his license. In some States no examination is required. All these operators, with no tested equipment for knowledge, attitudes, or practice under normal conditions for handling a car, are then turned loose to slaughter the public.

Nothing has been done to discover what the experience of these drivers is afterwards. If the data relating to all the accidents were gathered and studied, we could no doubt learn from them how to select operators of cars that would avoid accidents. Such a scientific procedure would require money spent in a nonspectacular activity; but this does not seem to appeal to those agencies engaged in accident prevention. Perhaps the reason is that these organizations thrive upon sensational publicity, not upon scientific study and results.

A recent program promoted by the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters illustrates the point of view presented here, namely, the proposal to train high-school students in safe driving. This is the latest proposal and one that has received its due amount of publicity. Even if a program of safe driving could be carried out in all the high schools of America (and they cannot and will not), we would deal only with a limited number of the future drivers, and, so far as we know, those who would drive safely anyway. The program is an interesting publicity stunt, but bears no essential relation to the accident situation in the United States in the year 1937. Moreover, it will likely retard the development of a program that would get at the roots of the accident situation.

The point of view emphasized here may be made clear by reference to any scientific procedure, as opposed to the guess procedures in vogue. We have illustrated the situation by safe-driving programs in the high schools.

The elimination of accidents is not unlike the elimination of disease, we have in the example of preventive medicine the cue for the correct procedure in the prevention of accidents. At the end of the nineteenth century we were faced with many devastating diseases which took a high toll of human life, tuberculosis, typhoid, malaria, children's diseases, and the like. The application of the scientific techniques to the study of the causes of these diseases produced results. When the causes were once known, we proceeded deliberately, slowly to be sure, but effectively, to bring the diseases under control, with the result that many of them are almost banished. Such an intelligent and statesmanlike procedure in the study of data about the operators of automobiles would certainly bring a like result. There seems to be no hope that the present agencies promoting accident programs will proceed with any such statesmanlike intelligence and vision; for they are essentially propaganda and not scientific organizations.

Note here that a start has been made in a scientific approach to the solution of this problem, not by the major accident-preventing agencies, but by the United States Bureau of Public Roads. This Bureau is undertaking a study of 25,000 drivers who have had accident records in the past six years. Through physical and psychological tests of drivers, the Bureau hopes to establish standards by which safe and unsafe operators can be identified by State authorities issuing driving permits. Congress has appropriated \$75,000 for the study. This is a beginning in the right direction; but a number of years will pass before much can be done. If private agencies had begun years ago to devote some of their wasted funds to such a study, the problem of the driver would have already been solved.

The second problem indicated here is that of the public, both

child and adult, and its responsibility for the accident situation. Here again we have a school program which, in so far as the school children themselves and their instruction are concerned, is fairly adequate. The weakness of the program lies in the fact that except in the beginning, both in conception and practice, it has not been concerned with the adult public at all. Any adequate program of education must be fundamentally concerned with *both* children and adults. Leading educators have long known and pointed out that effective changes in the behavior of children can only be made when corresponding changes are made in the practices of the adult population at the same time. If adults continue their behavior, the social pressure in the community outweighs any efforts that the schools may make in their attempts to change the practices of children in schools.

This weakness of the school program is fundamental, but no more so than another involving the basis of the instruction. We have gone on refining the technique of instruction. Safety plays, safety materials, types of school organizations, etc., etc., have been worked out *ad nauseam*, without ever finding out the specific causes of accidents to the public. This is so in spite of the fact that the original school program made this the major point of attack. Some of this work has been done, but not by those organizations promoting accident-prevention programs; and they have made little or no use of what has been done.

In the original program of accident prevention through instruction, it was pointed out not only that local studies of the causes of accidents were necessary, but that the nature of these causes should be made available weekly to every teacher in the community. Thus the teacher might vitalize her instruction by emphasis on the need of behavior changes with reference to the particular difficulties that children have in protecting themselves against immediate hazards. The specific type of local studies necessary was not only presented to teachers in this experimental period, but it was also pointed out

that the successful reduction in accidents to children was primarily the result of these data in the hands of the teacher and their use by him. In no case has this plan been used in its entirety since, and in only one or two cases has any part of it been used at all. We need to get back to fundamentals.²

A second study in the year 1924 pointed the way for the approach to the study of accidents, if it had been taken seriously by those concerned with the elimination of accidents. In that year the Department of Civil Engineering of Yale University analyzed 16,500 accidents caused by motor vehicles and indicated with precision their causes. They indicated the period of peak accidents by months, weeks, days, and hours of the day, as well as the situations in which accidents most frequently occur. Furthermore, they detailed in elaborate statistical studies with appropriate graphs the causes of accidents, the places and conditions under which they occur, and the person, whether driver or pedestrian, that was responsible. If this study had been followed with appropriate emphasis in the instruction of drivers, the public, and school children, the tragic toll of accidents in the State might have been prevented. The material has been hidden in a published volume and the slaughter of the innocent has gone on. The notable conclusion of the study was that ignorance was the primary cause of accidents. This signifies that education is the only means of attacking and eliminating ignorance.

Two other studies worthy of note illustrate the sort of attack on the problem of accidents likely to get results, although these are of limited application relating to the prevention of accidents in the secondary schools and colleges in the department of physical education.

Professor Lloyd³ of New York University in 1933 made a study of the prevalence and nature of accidents and injuries in physical-

² For the discussion of this approach, see E. George Payne, *Local Studies of Accidents for Purposes of Instruction*, published as a part of the complete service on Public Safety of the Elliott Service Company of New York City, 1923.

³ See these abstracts 1933-1935, School of Education, New York University.

education activities conducted in the secondary schools, and sought to determine some of the factors that may be considered as contributory to the increase of accidents and injuries in these activities.

In 1935 Professor Eastwood⁴ continued this study in the college field and sought to determine, first, the incidence, types, and severity of college physical-education accidents; second, the casual and contributory factors of accidents; third, the legal liability for such accidents; and fourth, the establishment of guiding principles that would facilitate remedial safety procedures in physical-education activities.

Aside from these studies, little scientific research into the causes of accidents to the public has been made. Therefore the schools in their instruction can only proceed blindly in their teachings. They can use the shotgun method and shoot into the air, with the hope that their prey will fall.

The obvious conclusion of this review of the accident-prevention situation and accidents is that there is urgent need of a fundamental consideration of the whole problem, the institution of an intensive program of research so that materials can be provided to teachers in their effort to render a vital service to the public in the elimination of accidents and hazards—the most serious blot on current civilization.

⁴ See theses abstracts 1933–1935, School of Education, New York University

SAFETY EDUCATION AS THE MENTAL HYGIENIST SEES IT

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The attitude which one might take toward education in matters of safety is to be thought of as part and parcel with one's attitude toward education in general. Just as an understanding of the meaning of education has undergone radical changes, in the same way we have passed, even within the period of the machine age, through several stages in our notions of how to educate toward accident prevention.

It is not so many years ago that the work of the schools was considered to be mainly imparting information. Civilization has progressed through a long period during which facts have been acquired. These are to be passed on to the younger generation, and it is for the teacher to perform this task. Outlines were thus made of the things that pupils should know at various stages in their academic career. But it was soon realized that doing was as important as knowing, that education was as much the acquisition of skills as it was the acquisition of information. This view has been quite prevalent for a decade or more.

Now, however, the pendulum is swinging again, and another phase is making its appearance. We are realizing that some of the prime objectives of education are being lost sight of; that the task of the school goes beyond providing the child with knowledge and with skills. The work of the mental hygienists has well shown that the child who has acquired all the knowledge and intellectual skill appropriate to his age may still be most poorly prepared for life as it exists in our present-day civilization. We are thinking here of that emotional feature of human life usually spoken of as adjustment. The poorly adjusted individual, however thorough his train-

ing may be, can never be said to be well prepared for life. Educators are beginning to sense this, and to realize that the real task of the school is to produce well-adjusted persons, even though they may know fewer facts about the world and have acquired less skill in such things as computation and reading. One might add that it is most unfortunate that the value of the schools in producing emotional attitudes seems to be clearly recognized only in the countries under dictatorships, where it is utilized for sinister and selfish purposes rather than for the benefit of the children.

Education in accident prevention must needs go through a similar evolution; it can hardly look for any real success until the last of these stages is reached. The first phase, that of giving information, is now in full swing. Children are being taught rules of safety and are learning intellectually what they should do. Will they do it? That is quite a different question. Another aspect of this phase of education is the use of slogans, verbalisms, and aphorisms. Our population as a whole has an almost childlike trust in their efficacy, and too many persons in positions of leadership share this view. Its fallacy is so apparent to any one who understands the mechanisms underlying human behavior as to be not worthy of further discussion here. It is sad that so much money and effort are spent in various safety campaigns that do not go beyond the use of slogans, and which in the end accomplish little or nothing. Studies and surveys of the incidence of accidents and their causes, now frequently appearing in high schools, are in essence cut from the same cloth.

The second stage in this development, however, is beginning to appear. Children are being placed in situations where they must follow out in their daily lives some of the rules and principles which they have learned. This may apply to everyday occurrences around the home and school, as well as to behavior in such things as crossing the street. A few high schools have gone even further, and are conducting practical courses in automobile driving. Surely, a child

learns more by doing than by listening or reading. Skill can be acquired in performing under the usual dangers inherent in daily existence. Even this is far from the goal. Specific habits are taught, each of which may minimize the possibility of accidents. But what is going to happen when a new situation arises, where the specific habit is of no value? There are no generalized habits. Education must pass beyond habit formation.

This, of course, leads to the next pedagogical step, which is a recognition of the fact that behavior is dominated by emotional attitudes, both conscious and unconscious. An appropriate example may well be taken from the efforts that are being made to test individuals for proneness to accidents in such an activity as automobile driving. Elaborate testing machinery has been devised to measure the particular skills involved, and to duplicate in miniature, so far as possible, actual conditions of driving.

The results have not been all that might be expected. Some traffic clinics are today beginning to minimize the test results and to emphasize studies of the personality of the driver. This, indeed, is the correct direction for effort. It points the way to educators. In the same manner, they should consider, first of all, personality development. The ideal is the production of a personality in which there shall be little reason for taking chances, and in which the exercise of care shall be a natural outcome of underlying motivations. Is there any justification for expecting caution in an individual who is constantly running away, actually, symbolically, or in fantasy, from a reality that is too difficult for him? Can we anticipate that the person whose pattern in life is to strike at the present situation in revenge for repressed injuries in the past will give anything but lip service to rules of safety? It may seem that we are going far afield, but the real basis of education for safety is the development of wholesome personality. A well-adjusted individual can learn how to prevent accidents. The poorly adjusted one may be given a wealth of instruction and profit not the least from it.

Here, then, is a task for educators that should challenge them to the utmost. Its difficulties are great, but not unsurmountable. But not even a start will be made until teachers and supervisors realize that everything they do and say to a child influences the development of his personality, and begin to consider this effect more important than the facts they teach, the discipline they administer, or the satisfaction they receive from the docility of their pupils.

SAFETY PROGRAM IN THE CLEVELAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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For almost twenty years the Cleveland public schools have acted on the assumption that *safety can be taught*. Continuously the schools have had the effective coöperation of the Cleveland Safety Council, as well as that of the Cleveland Automobile Club, the Traffic Division of the Police Department, the newspapers, the Parent-Teacher Associations, and other civic groups. The interest and services of these groups and organizations have stimulated the school safety councils. The officers and patrols of these councils need encouragement. They must be assured that their work is worth while and appreciated.

For a number of years, Carl L. Smith, director of the Cleveland Safety Council, prepared monthly safety lessons in the form of bulletins or folders which were distributed regularly to all the public and private schools in the Greater Cleveland area. More recently, Mr. Leslie R. Silvernale, with the coöperation of the Safety Curriculum Center, has revised and improved these monthly safety lessons. Following the course of study in safety, the monthly units have been based on seasonal hazards. The nature of these units can be indicated most effectively by presenting a typical unit. On pages 34-37 is the unit on "Winter Safety" for the month of January.

The monthly topics or units for the school year are:

September — School Safety	February } — First Aid
October — Fire Prevention	March } — First Aid
November — Street Safety	April — Spring Safety
December — Home Safety	May } — Summer Safety
January — Winter Safety	June } — Summer Safety

By emphasizing hazards at the season or period of the year when each type is most prevalent, learning in safety is most effective

SAFETY INSTRUCTION**ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

January, 1937.

Subject. Winter Safety.

This is the season in which enthusiastic skaters, coasters, and skiers are seeking ponds, lakes, ravers, and hills where they may enjoy winter sport. Under proper conditions, these activities are safe and healthful. In winter, as in other seasons of the year, it is the responsibility of the school to help bring about safe play conditions. That there is much to be done is demonstrated by the fact that many coasters still share hills with automobiles and skaters still take foolish risks on unsafe ice. It is the purpose of this unit to point out safe practices in the winter season. The fact that hills and ice are safe does not take the edge off one's enjoyment of them, but rather insures a good time, and permits young people to get the most benefit from hours of play.

SAFETY GUIDES**Coasting**

- 1 Coast on hills free from traffic or on streets closed for play by police orders
- 2 Make sure that streets used for coasting are carefully marked, or guarded by policemen or safety patrols
- 3 Put sand or ashes at the foot of the hill used for coasting if it runs into a street on which there is traffic
- 4 Before coasting, look for such obstacles on the hill as trees, rocks, and fences. Make sure that you can steer safely by these obstacles before starting down the hill.
- 5 Coasting from driveways or graded lawns into the street is dangerous.
- 6 Follow traffic rules—keep to the right. When walking back up the hill, keep out of the way of other coasters.

7. Learn to steer straight. Be sure that your sled is in good condition so that it can be steered easily
- 8 Be sure not to steer toward other children
- 9 Avoid following other sleds too closely. Children on small sleds should permit bob sleds to go first
- 10 Shout, so that children at the bottom of the hill will know you are coming.
11. It is well to remember that you can roll off your sled if you see that it is going to hit something. Protect your face and roll quickly to the side—away from oncoming sleds
- 12 Traveled walks are for pedestrians, not for coasters

Hitching

1. It is dangerous to hitch rides because
 - a The speed of the vehicle may cause you to lose your hold
 - b The roughness of the road may cause you to lose your balance
 - c. The sudden stopping of the vehicle may cause you to be hit by a vehicle approaching from the rear
 - d If the vehicle turns a corner suddenly, it might swing you into the path of another vehicle
 - e, Heavy traffic makes it difficult for you to get back to the sidewalk
2. It is wrong to hitch rides because
 - a The person who hitches is trespassing on property belonging to someone else
 - b It is unsportsmanlike to involve a driver in an accident caused by your recklessness
 - c. It is against the law

because it is at the point of need. The child is made aware of the terrific toll of accidents. The fact that the annual toll in the United



Skating

- 1 Be sure that the ice is safe Remember—"One inch, keep off, two inches, one may, three inches, small groups, four inches, O K."
- 2 Be sure that your shoes and skate straps are not too tight Such conditions may cause chilblains
- 3 Be sure that skates fit well and are securely fastened
- 4 Be considerate of others Unnecessary roughness may cause injury to a less experienced or younger skater
- 5 Avoid skating in territory where such games as hockey are being played unless you are on the team
- 6 Skate only on supervised ponds, lakes, and rivers Skating on ice over running water and near dams is hazardous
- 7 Make sure that holes and weak spots in the ice are clearly marked
- 8 Skating in the street causes traffic accidents
- 9 Little children should not go skating alone
- 10 Obey traffic rules when skating
- 11 If you fall through the ice, do not struggle to get out If you find that the ice is too thin to support your weight Support yourself with your arms spread over the edge of the ice and kick your legs

(crawl kick) to keep them from coming up under the ice in front of you If the ice is thick enough to support your weight, try to crawl forward flat on your stomach until your hips are at the edge of the ice Then quickly avert sideways and with your arms above your head roll away from the hole.

- 12 When attempting to rescue someone who has fallen through the ice, use
 - a Plank or Pole Rescue Push a plank or pole near enough the edge of the hole for the victim to reach By means of the plank or pole, the victim is able to distribute his weight to thicker ice and climb out. If the victim is helpless, the rescuer may slide out toward him on his stomach, distributing his weight on the plank or pole
 - b Rope Rescue Throw the knotted end of a rope to the victim or tie a thirty inch noose at the end for him to slip his head and one arm through If the victim is helpless, the rope may be tied under the armpits of the person going to the rescue and the other end held by those assisting
 - c Human Chain Rescue This method is used by a group if rescue material is not available Members of the chain slide on their stomachs, each holding on to a skate of the person ahead with one hand and using the other to help push himself ahead Persons at the shore end of the chain kneel or stand and pull when the chain moves backward
- 13 After a person who has fallen through the ice has been rescued
 - a Wrap something around him, make him exercise, and get him to a house as quickly as possible
 - b If he is not breathing, administer artificial respiration
 - c Call a doctor so that the person may have proper care for immersion and shock

Snowballing

- 1 Hard snowballs are dangerous missiles Use them for distance and target throwing contests only
- 2 Throwing snowballs of any kind toward another's face is unsportsmanlike and may cause injury
- 3 Throwing snowballs at the driver of a car may cause a traffic accident

Skiing

- 1 Look over unknown slopes before trying them.
- 2 Beginners should leave heel straps open
- 3 Ski cautiously when there is a light snowfall, a fresh fall, or a crust
- 4 Do not carry ski poles across front of body
- 5 A city street is not a safe place to ski



States is approximately ten million persons injured, and more than 100,000 killed concerns vitally the welfare of every boy and girl.

- 4 Take a trip to a nearby traffic light on a day when streets are icy. Note difficulties of drivers. Point out added precautions pedestrians must take.
- 5 Learn the safe places to coast in your neighborhood. Stress the danger of coasting from driveways, and of making slides on sidewalks.
- 6 Make simple posters illustrating safety rules for winter play.
- 7 Discuss safe snow play. Develop the idea that snowball target throwing games and distance throwing contests afford exciting diversion, and may serve as a safe substitute for throwing hard snowballs at each other. Snow sculpture is another form of snow play that is both safe and entertaining.
- 8 Read stories about winter fun as a basis for studying winter hazards.
- 9 Make a list of "Do and Don't" rules for winter play.
- 10 Learn to read signs such as "Danger," "Thin Ice," "Keep Away." Learn that a red flag displayed on a skating pond or elsewhere denotes danger.

Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Grades

- 1 Discuss all safety guides which apply to your grade.
- 2 Make a list of the safe places for coasting and skating in your neighborhood.
- 3 Have the class formulate a list of rules covering fair play in coasting, fair play in skating. Discuss each rule proposed and use only those which are acceptable to the group.
- 4 Have pupils observe activities on a hill used for coasting; on a skating rink. Make a list of safe practices observed, unsafe. Discuss each of the suggestions made so that the real sentiment of the group will be secured.
- 5 Discuss the added responsibility of both pedestrian and driver on icy streets.
- 6 Keep a scrap book of clippings from newspapers and magazines on safety topics. Have a section for winter safety.
- 7 Describe or demonstrate methods of rescuing persons who have fallen through the ice.
- 8 Describe or demonstrate treatment for frostbite and extreme exposure to cold.
- 9 Read stories about winter sports emphasizing safe practices.
- 10 Draw up a list of New Year's Resolutions covering safe practices in winter sports.
- 11 Discuss why it is poor sportsmanship to
 - a Throw hard snowballs except at targets
 - b Hitch with sleds
 - c Coast on streets not set aside for the purpose
 - d Make icy slides on sidewalks
 - e Neglect to clear snow and ice from sidewalks

Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Grades

- 1 Discuss all safety guides which apply to your grade.
- 2 Make a survey of the winter sport situation in your neighborhood.
 - a Have a committee report on safe and dangerous areas.
 - b List the hazards which will prevent safe participation in winter sports. Include such things as traffic, thin ice, carelessness, lack of knowledge and skill, lack of supervision, etc. Can these hazards be overcome by the individual, school, or city? How?
- 3 Describe methods of rescuing a person who has fallen through the ice.
- 4 Describe treatment for frostbite and extreme exposure to cold.
- 5 Make posters or charts illustrating ice rules, an ice rescue, etc.
- 6 Discuss why it is poor sportsmanship to
 - a Throw hard snowballs at targets
 - b Hitch with sleds
 - c Coast on streets not set aside for the purpose
 - d Make icy slides on sidewalks
 - e Neglect to clear snow and ice from sidewalks

"PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE OF THE CLEVELAND SAFETY COUNCIL IN COOPERATION WITH THE BOARD OF EDUCATION. TEACHERS ARE REQUESTED TO SEND TO THE CHAIRMAN, MR. H. M. BUCKLEY, 1514 TERMINAL TOWER BUILDING, COPIES OF POSTERS AND OTHER MATERIAL THAT ARE FOUND HELPFUL IN THIS WORK."

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Our schools are making a genuine effort to enable every child to acquire adequate knowledge, necessary skills and habits, and the

Winter Safety About the Home

- 1 Keep snow shoveled from sidewalks and steps.
- 2 Making slides on travelled walks may cause injury to pedestrians
- 3 Spread salt, ashes, or sand on icy steps and side walks
- 4 Watch out for snow and icicles falling from roofs
- 5 Be careful not to overheat stoves and furnaces
Do not leave the house with the furnace draft open.
- 6 Keep away from wires that have been brought to the ground by snow and sleet

Crossing Icy Streets

- 1 Allow greater distances between yourself and passing vehicles to "play safe" in case you should fall or the car skid in stopping. An automobile on icy streets might easily become a "sled" out of control.

Frostbite and Exposure

- 1 Avoid frostbite by wearing sufficient clothing in freezing weather, and by rubbing briskly any part of the body that becomes cold.
- 2 If part of the body has been frostbitten, gently cover the frozen part with the hand or other body surface until the part is thawed and circulation reestablished, or immerse the part in cool water.
- 3 When circulation has been restored, apply vaseline or any good preparation used for burns
- 4 In case of extreme exposure to cold
 - a. Place the patient in a cool room, and rub the limbs briskly with cloths wet in cool water. When the patient begins to react, raise the temperature of the room gradually.
 - b. When the patient is able to swallow, give him a hot drink such as tea, coffee, or cocoa. Then place him in a warm bed.
 - c. It is dangerous to place the patient in a hot bath or near a hot stove or radiator
 - d. If any part of the body becomes inflamed or blistered, treat as for burns
 - e. In cases where the patient is only chilled and no parts of the body are frozen, put him in a warm bed and give him hot, stimulating drinks.



Ordinances

The following municipal ordinances (condensed) of Cleveland have to do with winter safety. Other cities have similar ordinances.

Section 2376. Shovelling sidewalks, spreading ashes, etc. Every owner, occupant, or person in charge of any building or land fronting on a city street must clear the snow from the sidewalk in front of his building or land before nine a. m. each day.

If it is impossible to remove all the snow and ice from the sidewalk, the owner, occupant or person in charge shall make travel safe and convenient by spreading ashes, sand, etc.

If the owner fails to comply with this section, the director of public service may remove the snow and charge cost to owner.

Section 2377. Any person who violates Section 2376 may be fined \$5 for each offense and \$1 for each day said violation continues.

Section 2495. Coasting and skating in the street. It is unlawful to coast or skate in the street, unless the street shall have been set aside for playground purposes.

Section 2497. Hitching. It is unlawful for any person traveling upon a bicycle, coaster, sled, roller skates etc., to attach himself or his vehicle to any other moving vehicle or street car upon any roadway.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

Kindergarten, First, Second, and Third Grades

- 1 Discuss all safety guides which apply to your grade.
- 2 Discuss
 - a Proper clothing for winter wear
 - b Hitching accidents as reported in the newspapers
 - c Why snow should not be eaten
- 3 Encourage children to take the home responsibility of keeping front and back steps free from snow and ice.

wholesome attitudes which will protect him from accidents and influence him to be of service to other children.

Instilling fear is not a constructive form of safety education. Children entering school represent individual problems in safety all the way from timidity, or cowardice, at one extreme, to rashness, or recklessness, at the other. It is not a simple problem to develop confidence, courage, good judgment, and the spirit of cooperation on the part of all.

Most effective safety education and service are secured through the committee of the Safety Council in each school known as the Street Patrol. The work of these patrols has been an important factor in reducing the number of fatal traffic accidents to children in Cleveland more than sixty per cent since 1929, while there has been a reduction of only ten per cent in adult traffic fatalities.

While we have endeavored to avoid the addition of a new and separate subject to the curriculum, we are convinced that safety education cannot become effective by mere incident and accident. Time is conserved and efficiency is secured only by means of a well-organized and definite program directed toward the safety of the individual and of the community. All of the safety factors are present in the everyday activities of pupils at home, on the streets, and at school. Pupils will assume much of the responsibility for carrying on these necessary activities for living at home and at school in the interest of safety. Reading, elementary science, organized play, crossing the streets, assisting traffic officers—in short, nearly all subjects and activities required for the operation of a modern school can be organized and directed in the interest of safety education.

The cooperation of school patrols with traffic officers is rapidly changing the attitude of pupils toward police officers. Police are being accepted as friends, and no longer enemies of children. This means much from the standpoint of law and order.

Many have little confidence in safety education. They assume that accidents are unavoidable. They forget that smallpox and typhoid and other fevers were once considered inescapable. These physical plagues would quickly return were it not for the fact that

competent and interested persons are giving them constant attention. Carelessness, combined with ignorance, would make our modern cities uninhabitable. Pure water and sanitary foods are not the results of accident. They represent the price of constant vigilance.

The minute a child begins to walk, he steps out into the most dangerous environment the race has ever known. It is becoming increasingly speedy and more complex. No longer can the child depend upon his instincts alone. Witness the highways strewn with mangled rabbits, squirrels, dogs, chickens, and even birds. The hope for the child is knowledge, attention, and a set of safety habits. Carelessness and inattention cannot be eliminated by the simple instinct of self-preservation. Not only the streets, but the homes, are being filled with power and speed. The schools must develop a safety-education program more comparable with the growing hazards to life and limb. Such a program can be made to serve other subjects such as English, science, physical education, health, citizenship, etc., as well as the children concerned. Safety can be made to contribute to the value of practically every subject, especially by adding the quality of reality to the subject. Pupils are fully aware of the fact that the problem of safety is a live one. Consequently any subject which contributes to the safety-education program adds to its own effectiveness. However, it should be the obligation of the principal of any school to designate the teacher of some subject, or the teacher sponsor of the Safety Council, as the one responsible for seeing that the safety program is unified and adequately covered.

In the secondary schools the new phase of safety education is instruction and practice in safe driving. The highways will be safer when the graduates of our high schools can give evidence of adequate knowledge regarding the mechanics of a car and skill in operation on the highway.

SAFETY EDUCATION IN THE BALTIMORE SCHOOL SYSTEM

PEARL W. GOETZ

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In a recent weekly radio broadcast, the purpose of which is to inform the citizens of Baltimore regarding the various programs and activities carried on in the public schools, the question of why safety has been made an important part of the educational program in this city was raised. The point was made in the discussion that safety education was stressed, *not* because a group of influential citizens have insisted upon it, but because present conditions in this city as well as elsewhere have made it absolutely essential that attention be directed toward the conservation of human life. Dangers resulting from the ever increasing amount of traffic, the widespread uses of electricity, and the rapid pace of twentieth-century life have caused much emphasis to be placed upon safety work in the schools. The great reduction in the number of accidental injuries and deaths to the school children of Baltimore since the introduction of safety into the curriculum offers some proof of the effectiveness of this type of educational training for boys and girls.

In the Baltimore school system, it is felt that unless safety-mindedness permeates the entire life of the child in school, at home, and in the community at large, it fails to achieve its goal. Safety education, therefore, is embodied in the *entire curriculum*. For example, records of accident statistics furnished by the national and local Safety Councils are utilized in the teaching of arithmetic. Children learn to make computations and solve problems which have safety significance. Through this means they are led to understand facts with regard to the present accident situation and to realize the need for using measures to ensure safety for themselves and others.

A science lesson that touched vitally upon the topic of safety was

in progress recently when a supervisor entered a sixth-grade classroom. The children were busily engaged in reading and experimenting to find why a toy electric game was able to answer certain questions accurately. In the class discussion that followed the children's independent investigation, the great value of electricity to man was emphasized. One child, however, made the point that electricity is sometimes man's enemy. A second pupil made the comment "Electricity would not be harmful if the people who used it understood it and were careful." Through these observations made by the children themselves, the entire class became interested in the problem of how accidents connected with the use of electricity might be avoided. As the unit in electricity was further developed in succeeding lessons, the children learned about the safe use of electricity as they found the answers to questions such as: "What makes a bell ring?" "How is electricity produced?" and "Why is the electrical game able to answer questions?"

Certainly this development of "Safety in the Use of Electricity" was much more meaningful than the use of a class discussion period devoted to the development of a series of "Don'ts"!

Language activities, too, have been used as a means of interesting children in safety. Many conversations, debates, oral and written stories, original poems, letters, and bulletin-board notices have had as their basis some safety theme of definite significance for a given group of children in a particular school. English work based on a safety theme has proved purposeful, providing the same (or better) opportunities for individual growth in expression as those offered through the utilization of topics based on any other types of children's experiences.

It can be seen from the examples mentioned that in Baltimore a special effort has been made to have safety instruction function as a part of the regular school subjects. The "Course of Study in Safety Education for Elementary Grades" cites many suggestions for safety instruction and opportunities for safety practices in connec-

tion with each subject in each grade. In making plans for the teaching of a new unit, the teacher who refers to these suggestions chooses those activities which she thinks might be especially suitable for her class. The aid of other teachers and pupils of classes on the same grade is often enlisted in working out some of the selected activities. Thus, through integrating safety with all subjects, "extra emphasis" upon safety has been made possible without "extra time" for the work.

Daily lessons in the classroom are not the only means used to inform children of school and community safety problems. Through cooperation with the Baltimore Safety Council and other local agencies, motion pictures and speakers suitable for school assemblies are secured. The choice of a motion picture or speaker is dependent upon the type of safety program which a specific school is emphasizing at a given time. For example, during Fire Prevention Week, a member of the Baltimore Fire Department may be asked to speak at an assembly. Employees of industrial organizations may sometimes be invited to discuss and to illustrate safe practices in connection with certain types of occupations. These talks are especially helpful to pupils enrolled in schools where occupational training is emphasized.

The safety assembly program does not always feature a speaker or movie. It may be devoted to a discussion of ways of preventing accidents. The need for such an assembly might be shown by the student accident summary report which is prepared monthly by each school. Places in the school building, at home, on the street, and on the school playground which seem to offer safety hazards for children are revealed through a study of this report. A discussion of each accident may lead the children, teachers, and principal to devise ways in which further accidents of similar nature may be avoided. Safety plays prepared by a small group of pupils may be presented to the entire school during the assembly periods. Any plays chosen for this purpose are selected not only because of their

entertainment value but also because of the safety messages which they present to the audience. Well-planned safety assembly programs provide a very adequate opportunity for the development of desirable attitudes toward safety.

Although class and group discussions of safety problems and practices are considered important, effective safety instruction cannot be successfully accomplished through the use of discussion only. Opportunities for the children to practice some of the safety precautions about which they talk need to be provided. The teachers in the Baltimore system are encouraged to provide as many opportunities as possible for children to practise as well as to talk about safety.

For example, kindergarten and first-grade children are faced with the problem of getting to and from school safely each day. The teacher may discuss with the pupils the need for obeying the traffic policemen and the traffic signals which are encountered on the route from school to home. This discussion may be followed by a brief period of practice in crossing "make-believe" streets in the classroom. For this practice a toy semaphore and a pupil policeman are used. An excursion to some near-by center of interest may be planned later mainly for the purpose of providing the children with an opportunity to gain further practice in an actual life situation. A map of the school neighborhood showing street crossings protected by traffic lights, traffic policemen, or safety patrolmen may be placed on the blackboard after the class returns from a neighborhood excursion and each child may use it to plan for himself the safest route to school.

In the art room, gymnasium, and shops, close supervision of children's use of tools and equipment is given at all times. Suggestions regarding the correct handling of a saw, a lathe, or a piece of play apparatus are given to individual children who handle these materials. Classroom discussions based on home hazards are followed frequently by home inspection campaigns so that pupils may apply

some of the suggestions offered for making the home safe. Organized play during the recess period helps the children to see the importance of choosing suitable types of play places for certain games, handling play equipment properly, and of respecting each other's rights. Games played after school hours are frequently more safely played because of this training that the children receive at school. Occasions for stressing safety, which constantly arise in the daily management of routine activities, are utilized. The distribution and collection of material, the management of routine in connection with the entrance of a large group of children into a room or building, and the organization of activities during a manual work period offer excellent opportunities for children to develop safety habits.

The Junior Safety Council and the Safety Patrol contribute greatly to the success of the safety program. At the meetings of the Safety Council dangerous practices and the work of the safety patrolmen are discussed and safety measures devised. The Junior Safety Council is the center of interest around which the safety work of the school revolves.

The Safety Patrol has as its objective the safe conduct of children in crossing the streets in the vicinity of the school, on the playground, and in the school building. The children, on their way to school, will find each dangerous crossing patrolled by one of their schoolmates. They wait until the patrolman indicates that there is a lull in traffic and that it is therefore safe for them to cross. At intersections where traffic is controlled by an officer, a traffic signal, or both, the safety patrolman who stands on the pavement directs the crossing of the children in accordance with the directions of the signal or the officer. Both the Council and Patrol work under the direct guidance of the Safety Faculty Advisor who, in turn, works with the principal and teachers. These two organizations get real enjoyment out of aiding in the development of attitudes and habits which will help each individual to think, feel, and act safety. In

addition to the useful work accomplished for others, the members of the Council and Patrol receive real personal benefits. The responsibilities which they must assume in connection with the performance of their duties promote the development of a sense of social and civic responsibility, the abilities to think and act quickly in an emergency, to use initiative, to be a good leader, to show judgment, and to work earnestly.

For the past three years another activity has been utilized in the public schools of Baltimore as a further means of maintaining children's interest in developing desirable habits and attitudes in regard to safety. We provided for an annual safety campaign. It was hoped by the members of the committee who planned the campaigns that this might further encourage the teaching of safety and promote safety-mindedness among the teachers and pupils of the public schools. The wide variety of purposeful safety programs and activities carried on in each school, as well as the great quantity of original, effective safety materials produced by the children during the period of each campaign, gives evidence that the purposes set up by the committee are being accomplished.

The annual campaign is begun about the middle of March and continues until the middle of May each year. Although particular attention to safety is given during this period, the work carried on by schools throughout the year is taken into consideration in selecting the winners of the contest. Four judges, selected at the beginning of each campaign, study the reports and materials sent in from all parts of the city to decide which schools have done the most outstanding safety work. On the basis of their decisions, bronze trophies are awarded to one elementary school, one junior high school, and one senior high school in each division.

Three points are considered by the judges in examining the campaign returns:

1. The effectiveness of safety education in each school as evidenced by monthly reports to the Baltimore Safety Council

2. The effectiveness of safety education in each school as evidenced by an outline of planned monthly programs and activities for the year
3. The effectiveness of the most outstanding contribution made by each school during the period of the campaign

The schools that are selected as winners are allowed to keep the bronze trophies until the next campaign, when they are presented to another group of winners.

The annual campaign always culminates in an exhibit of the safety work done by the boys and girls during the year. The types of materials displayed are many and varied. Maps, models, charts, and posters show how boys and girls use their skills in making their safety work interesting and vital.

The aid of parents is also enlisted by the schools as a means of safeguarding the lives of children. A message given to parents, through a recent school radio broadcast in an effort to get their cooperation in eliminating traffic accidents, contained the following suggestions:

First, talk over with *your* child the safest way to go to school *Plan a route that eliminates as many crossings and as much heavy traffic as possible.*

Second, discuss the necessity for care in observing mechanical traffic signals and the dangers of "jaywalking."

Third, impress upon *your* child the reason for obeying the signals of the safety patrolmen

Fourth, encourage *your* child to help the Safety Council in his school

Fifth, specially charge the child not to "thumb" rides. "Hitchhiking" is a very dangerous practice for both motorists and hikers

Since parents cannot help but be interested in the welfare of their children, their efforts serve to reinforce the school's program in safety

The administrators and members of the teaching force are convinced that the introduction of safety education into the curriculum

in Baltimore has been successful. The success of this work may be attributed largely to (1) the coöperation of pupils, teachers, school administrators, parents, and the personnel of the National and Local Safety Councils in promoting safety-mindedness; (2) the integration of safety with all subjects of the elementary curriculum; and (3) the stressing of a wide variety of safety activities in order that pupil interest may be stimulated and maintained. Each of these factors has had an important part in the advancement of the safety work. What the future success of this program may be cannot be predicted at present; but it is hoped that the children who are now receiving safety training in our schools will become citizens who will think and act safety at all times.

SAFETY FROM AN INDUSTRIAL VIEWPOINT

C. L. SANKEY

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According to the National Safety Council, during the year 1936 there were in the United States 18,000 occupational deaths and 1,500,000 industrial injuries, involving a total economic loss of \$660,000,000. Had the rates of occupational death and industrial injuries that prevailed in 1913 continued to 1935, inclusive, there would have been, during this period, 250,000 more deaths and 1,500,000 more disabling injuries than actually occurred.

These figures do not include the hundreds of lives that have been sacrificed on the altars of scientific research and progress, especially in the field of medicine, radium, and roentgenology. Such lives, we trust, have not been sacrificed in vain, but rather for the purpose of preserving future generations. But the lives that are lost and the injuries suffered in industrial accidents can seldom be considered as part of the cost of scientific progress. It is true that the rate of this human waste has decreased significantly over the past twenty-five years; but it is still far too high. What can industry and the schools together do to lower the accident rate still further?

THE SAFETY PROBLEM IN INDUSTRY

Farsighted industrialists have, for some time, recognized accident prevention as both a humanitarian and economic necessity, and a new figure, that of safety engineer, or director, has appeared to coöperate with the foremen in performing a now indispensable function in the field of industrial and business operations—the reduction of the frequency and seriousness of our accidents.

When the problem of reducing deaths and injuries in industry was first seriously faced, major consideration was given to equipment; but investigators soon realized that a decreasing rate of in-

dustrial accidents could not be attained by the introduction of safety appliances and protective devices alone. An intensively applied, never ceasing, safety educational program was found to be, and is today, indispensable—an integral part of every well-organized industry.

The safeguarding of machinery and operating procedures is no longer a problem in industry. Modern machinery is practically fool-proof, and processes have reached a high degree of efficiency—thorough efficiency implying the maximum quantity and quality of product with *safety* in its production. The safety engineer must, of course, concern himself with equipment and processes, but he finds that the greatest single factor contributing to the decreasing of accidents is the careful selection, training, and supervision of employees. As long as the human element continues to be a major factor in the operation of our industrial machinery and equipment, we shall be faced with the problem of training and safeguarding those unfortunate individuals who, because of ineptitude, inability, carelessness, or misguided inquisitiveness, seem fated to develop into causers of accidents to themselves and to their fellow workers. The outstanding problem, then, in accident prevention, is people. How can industry—and we include here both manufacturing and commercial operations—select, train, and supervise its employees so that they will work without accident?

SELECTING AND TRAINING THE NEW EMPLOYEE

A new employee is selected for his probable fitness to perform a job; this fitness is determined from an analysis of three factors: his previous background, his physique and health, and his personality as he displays it to those who interview him.

His background determines the amount of knowledge and skill that he brings with him to the job. It also has established his habits in the use of this knowledge and skill. Upon his physique and health will depend his physical competence to perform the work

for which he is being considered. His personality will decide the degree to which he will fit in with the working group to which he will be assigned. On the basis of these factors industry will attempt to build him up—through training and supervision—into one of its primary assets, a skilled worker.

After acceptance, the new employee goes through a probationary period of training—either formal or informal—during which he is observed for characteristics undetectable during the employment-interview period. During this probation he is expected to demonstrate that he will become a skillful, reliable, and safe worker. He is expected to learn not only his specific duties but also the general standards and practices contributing to safely pursued and efficient work that his company has established. Also, throughout this probationary period, he is expected to become impressed by the inseparable association between really skillful work and freedom from accidents.

This preliminary training, however, is only a beginning. Training in skill and its concomitant, safety, continues throughout the employee's association with his company. Among other safety-training activities, lectures, meetings, and conferences on safety are held on company time, and attendance at them is compulsory. Committees may be formed to check accident reports, investigate hazardous conditions, study accident-prevention suggestions, and pass upon the merits of new safety devices, posters, and working procedures. Such activities help to stimulate interest among the employees. When a rotating committee plan is maintained, every man in the group is assigned an active part in the safety program of the plant and is made thoroughly familiar with his company's operating and safety policies.

Instruction in first aid and resuscitation is frequently included in an employee-training program, as is also the correct method of removing persons from electrical contact, submersion, and gaseous atmospheres. This instruction, imparted by qualified teachers, is

invaluable not alone because employees may thereby assist fellow workers in time of need but also because they may perform similar services to nonemployees. Corporate records contain many testimonials to such service.

WHAT THE SCHOOL MAY DO TO HELP

1. As has been already stated, business and industry select their new employees on the basis of background, physique and health, and personality, into all of which the influence of the school has largely entered. The stress which the employer places upon these factors is proof of his reliance upon them as aids in the prevention of lost time through accidents and illness. Avoidance of accidents and illness should be no less stressed in general, commercial, and vocational education. Time lost from study, from these causes, not only interrupts the orderly progress of the student's education and retards his advancement, but may also lay the foundation for an unsatisfactory record in his vocation.

2. We recognize that, whereas industry can and does select its personnel with care, the school must accept any one of school age. The vocational schools are especially handicapped in this direction because usually a school system's selective methods are operated in such a way that the mentally less quick students are frequently shunted to the vocational classes, whether these pupils are industrially minded or not. With all due respect to the fine efforts that vocational counselors in school systems are making, the election of courses by many students in the secondary schools seems to be based largely on misconceptions of the content of the courses and of their own needs, with relatively little regard for their capacity to assimilate the instruction provided.

Because of this situation, teachers are faced with a real problem. They must waste time trying to develop knowledges, skills, and habits in students who frequently have little or no capacity to assimilate the instruction provided.

ilate them. Would not better methods of selection and placement in the school aid in laying foundations for satisfactory vocational records—not alone in the relative absence of lost time resulting from accident and illness but in all other respects?

3. Industry has learned that there is such a thing as “accident proneness”—that certain individuals seem to have the habit of having accidents. Whether or not this tendency is inheritable, it can be conditioned in the school just as any habit can be corrected or formed. The habits of safe living and safe working can be acquired in early life without any paralysis of initiative or loss of efficiency. Thus it seems to many of us in industry that the school could render to pupils a tremendous service by inculcating these habits.

4. Roughhouse and horseplay are out of place in the school as well as in industry and can be eliminated without impairment of high spirits.

5. Still another safety measure that students can be taught is order. The habit of safeguarding tools, material, and equipment in desks and on the benches can be developed. Industry has found that many hands are punctured by carelessly placed pens and pencil points and that fingers are cut by open knives and paper cutters carelessly placed in desk drawers. Industry places great stress on keeping aisles clear, filing cabinet drawers closed, and working material placed in designated locations. The school can train the youngsters to observe such rules.

6. Industry insists that safety signs and access to fire extinguishers should never be obstructed. The school does so, too; the fact and the reasons for it can be impressed upon students. Industry prohibits the hand-oiling or cleaning of machinery while it is in motion. The school can train its pupils to have the same respect for machinery in motion. Industry insists that goggles must be worn by an employee who is grinding, chipping, or drilling, or who is observing a welding operation or looking into a hot furnace. The school can do the same. Industry sees to it that employees do not

lift objects too heavy for their strength. The school, too, can warn the student of the dangers of overexertion.

7. Industry—in its instructions—even goes into the matter of suitable clothing by discouraging or prohibiting loose-flowing sleeves or cuffed or ill-fitting jumpers in the shop. The school, also, can advise students regarding clothing suitable to the job in hand.

8. One of our most serious safety problems is carelessness in the use of, and even disdain for, accident-prevention devices and precautions. In comparison with our present-day exposures to situations which, if improperly handled, would cause accidents, the frequency of occurrence of injuries is low, even though the total number is distressingly high. It is difficult to convince some people that suitable precautions will prevent accidents. In our hurry we are prone to cut corners. The school could render invaluable service by instilling in its pupils a suitable respect for established rules and regulations, and a farsighted self-restraint in making amateurish experiments.

CONCLUSIONS

In short, up-to-date industrialists consider safety education a matter first of providing as safe and sane an environment (including the necessary equipment) as the nature of a job will permit, and then developing the habits and attitudes necessary for its effective use. The school can develop in its students the same habits and attitudes even more effectively because the students come to it younger and more impressionable.

The fundamentals of industrial safety need not be taught in instilling a fear complex or by curtailing the use of hand or power tools, but rather by stimulating and developing the conviction that the habit of working with safety to oneself and others is proof of a man's efficiency. Boys do not forgo the pleasures of baseball, hockey, or football because they must take certain precautions, be selected for suitability, and follow prescribed rules which reduce the hazards

of these games. A mountain climber risks slipping, but attempts to safeguard himself with cleats and other devices. If these precautions are indispensable in sport, how much more essential are they and others with the same objective—conservation of our arms, legs, hands, eyes, our very lives—in order that we may be not social liabilities but social assets.

Summarized, the reduction of accidents and their consequences is dependent upon selection and training, in the school as well as in industry. Furthermore, the habits and attitudes toward safety that the youngster acquires in school go with him, as a general rule, into his vocational life. If the youngster learns in school to do things and to use tools and equipment safely; if he learns to respect the rights of others so that he will not create hazards for them; if he learns to follow instructions, both written and oral, general and specific; in a word, if he acquires habits of intelligent self-discipline and an attitude of willingness to listen to and to understand instructions, he will possess invaluable qualifications for whatever career may be his.

(Editorial Note This article by Mr. Sankey is of special interest because the company in whose service he is has established a conspicuous and enviable record for effective safety training. To the educator one striking detail must appeal strongly: the dependence of safety upon *learning to follow instructions, both written and oral*. Has it perhaps occurred to us that here we are dealing with one of the major silent-reading abilities, one on which too little training and practice is given in the grammar and junior-high years?)—S. G. R.)

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles, and where possible descriptions, of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The immediate events leading up to the establishment of the President's Committee on Vocational Education began with the adoption by Congress of a legislative proposal now known as the George-Deen Act.

The Act was approved by the President on June 8, 1936. On the same date, he addressed identical letters to Senators Smith of South Carolina and George of Georgia, and to Congressmen Palmisano of Maryland and Deen of Georgia. The text of the letter was in part as follows:

I have approved H. R. 12120, a bill "to provide for the further development of vocational education in the several States and Territories," because of my deep interest in providing our young people with adequate opportunities for vocational training. So many criticisms have been directed at the bill in its present state, however, that it seems to me advisable, before the Act goes into effect on July first, 1937, that a disinterested group review its provisions in relation to the experience of the Government under the existing program of Federal aid for vocational education, and the relation of such training to general education and to prevailing economic and social conditions.

In accordance with the intention expressed in this statement, the President appointed the Committee on Vocational Education on September 19, 1936. The text of the identical letters sent to each member of the Committee was as follows.

At the time I approved H. R. 12120, which authorizes additional appropriations for Federal aid for vocational education in the several States and Territories, I indicated my belief that before the Act goes into effect on July 1, 1937, the whole subject should be reviewed by a disinterested group. It is my thought that such a group should study the experience under the existing program of Federal aid for vocational education, the relation of such training to general education and to prevailing economic and social conditions, and the extent of the need for an expanded program.

I take pleasure in inviting you to accept membership on a committee to make such studies and to develop recommendations which will be available to the Congress and to the Executive. The services of the several Federal departments will be available to this committee. Traveling expenses incurred by members in attending committee meetings will be met by the Government.

I hope that it will be possible for you to serve in this capacity and to assist in the development of a sound basis for a program of vocational education which will be of maximum benefit to those affected.

Professor Floyd W. Reeves of the department of education, University of Chicago, was designated by the President to serve as chairman of the Committee. The other members of the President's Committee on Vocational Education are as follows: W. Rowland Allen, Dr. Edmund deS. Brunner, Oscar L. Chapman, Elisabeth Christman, Gordon R. Clapp, Ernest G. Draper, Alice Edwards, Henry Esberg, Mordecai Ezekiel, John P. Frey, Reverend George Johnson, Thomas Kennedy, Katharine F. Lenroot, Dr. A. B. Moehlman, Henry C. Taylor, T. J. Thomas, and John H. Zink.

The Committee has met and organized and is beginning its work in accordance with the instructions from the President. The office of the Committee is located in the Auditorium Building, Washington, D.C.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The Pacific Sociological Society held its eighth annual session at the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, December 28-30, 1936. At its first joint session with the Pacific Coast Economic Association, the general subject, Social Security, was discussed by the representatives of both organizations. Dr. William S. Hopkins, University of Washington, and Dr. George B. Mangold, University of Southern California, read papers on "Seasonal Employment and Unemployment Insurance" and on "Translation of Social Theory into Social Legislation," respectively. The second joint session heard Dr. Carl Sauer, University of California, on "Regional Reality in Economy," who advocated a total-situational methodology. Dr. Charles N. Reynolds, Stanford University, and president of the Pacific Sociological Society, and Dr. Kenneth Duncan, Pomona College, president of the Pacific Coast Economic Association, delivered their thought-challenging presidential addresses on the subjects, "Sociology and Social Reform" and "The Economist and His Critics," respectively.

In addition to social security, the Society's program covered a wide

range of topics of direct interest to sociologists. Under Criminology and Penology, two papers were given by J. Herbert Geoghegan, supervisor of education, United States Penitentiary at McNeil Island, dealing with "The New Penology in Practice," and Dr. Lloyd LeMaster, Oregon State Agricultural College, who spoke on "The Comparison of Continental and English Law in the Handling of Criminals." Concerning Recent Social Theory, Dr. Elton H. Moore, University of Oregon, and Dr. Elton F. Guthrie, University of Washington, offered seasoned papers on "Blanks in Social Theory" and "The Absence of Historical Perspective in American Sociology and the Revival of Historical Materialism," respectively. The session devoted to Methodology and Research Techniques scattered intellectual sparks from two diametrically opposed papers by Dr. Arthur E. Briggs, dean of Metropolitan Law School, Los Angeles, on "Science of Economics from the Viewpoint of Socio-Legal Economics," and Dr. C. W. Topping, University of British Columbia, on "The Engineering Approach to the Delinquent and the Criminal." The Society's last session dealt with the problem of Introductory Course in Sociology. Dr. Richard T. LaPiere, Stanford University, offered his views on the "Content and Technique of Teaching the Introductory Course," and Professor Carl E. Dent, Washington State College, presented statistical and interpretative data concerning the "Status of the Introductory Course in Sociology on the Pacific Coast."

In order (1) to assure a more representative and democratic procedure, (2) to stimulate intelligent participation, (3) to foster a livelier discussion, and (4) to overcome current singularistic presentations by the major speakers, the program chairman had arranged panel discussions. The panel members, having had access to the papers in advance, raised pertinent, pointed, and penetrating issues for consideration in every session except the presidential addresses. Although all the papers read will appear in *Sociology and Social Research* in abridged form, unfortunately the significant issues arising from the observations and reactions of the panel-discussion members and the contributions of other members of the Society cannot be presented for lack of space.

Officers for 1937 are: president, George B. Mangold, University of Southern California; vice-presidents, Fred R. Yoder, Washington State College, and Glen E. Hoover, Mills College; secretary-treasurer, Samuel Haig Jameson, University of Oregon; publications editor, Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California. Two vacancies on the

Advisory Council because of expiration of terms were filled by the election of Charles W. Reynolds, Stanford University, and Elon H. Moore, University of Oregon.

Invitation was extended to the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association to meet jointly with the Pacific Sociological Society and the Pacific Coast Economic Association at its next annual meeting. Upon the invitation of Pomona College delegation, Claremont was chosen as the place for the ninth annual session.

BOOK REVIEWS

Psychology and the Social Order, by J. F. BROWN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Incorporated, 1936, 468 pages.

Since the publication of Ross's *Social Psychology* a third of a century ago, the notion of the subject, the field it covers, and the function it serves have undergone radical changes. These changes have followed the development of the psychological science on the one hand and the development of sociology on the other. The science has lived through the period when the explanation of behavior was made on the basis of the instinct hypothesis down to the recent period in which the instinct theory has lost cast and either subordinated in the explanation of behavior or neglected altogether.

With the exit of the instinct theory, writers and students turned their attention to methodology and have been concerned more with the development of techniques for the study of behavior than with the explanation of behavior itself. The author of this book reverts to the former emphasis and seeks to explain behavior, but seeks to do so by the use of the research of the field of psychology, sociology, and the related social sciences of recent years. The author attempts with reasonable success to utilize the researches in the explanation of the problems of government, politics, economics, and the like. The new departure will no doubt influence future emphasis in the field of social psychology.

The Study of Man, by RALPH LINTON. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, 503 pages.

Coming from one of America's ranking anthropologists this attempt to survey and interpret the general nature of society on the basis of materials from primitive and civilized societies is to be hailed as an event. It marks the beginning of a bolder anthropology than we have had since the destruction of the evolutionists. In content the book proceeds from a lucid presentation of the facts of human origins, race, and the nature of the biological materials with which societies work to an analysis of the forms of social grouping. In this section the chapters on marriage and the family possess keen and unique qualities. The last third of the book is devoted to problems more anthropological—culture and culture interpretation. The discussion of interests is the high point of the book, that of the state the

weakest Teachers of sociology will find *The Study of Man* an important addition to the textbook field, though some will wish that the author had included footnote references

The Geographic Pattern of Mankind, by JOHN E. POMFRET; KIRTLLEY F. MATHER, Editor. Student's Edition. The Century Earth Science Series. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935, 442 pages.

The title is a clear indication of the plan of this textbook which is designed to serve as an introduction to the social sciences. It emphasizes the patterns resulting from the interaction between man's natural or physical environment and his social environment. The author's concern as a geographer is with location, topography, soils, and minerals as the "fixed" elements in this natural environment, with temperature, pressure, winds, humidity, and precipitation playing the role of variables and so giving rise to certain "climatic types." This is the angle from which he presents the various cultures, recognizing, however, the dominance of "Euramerican culture with its nuclei in Western Europe and the United States."

Current Social Problems, by WILLIAM WITHERS, AGNES SNYDER, AND CARLTON QUALEX. New York: Prentice-Hall, Incorporated, 1936, 299 pages.

The significant movement in American education of the present is toward a closer connection between the school and the community. The fundamental need in affecting this closer connection is a thorough understanding on the part of school people of the social forces operating in the community, and a knowledge of the relationship between these forces and the attitudes and behavior of individuals composing the community. Several treatises and researches have approached this problem, but not until recently have attempts been made to provide classroom teachers with materials that would provide them with the necessary understanding of the problems of modern life. The educational profession is indebted to Dr. Withers for organizing these data for teachers and giving them an intelligent interpretation. We are, therefore, indebted to him for the contribution of an indispensable textbook for the normal-school and teachers-college field. The teachers help, in the form of questions, bibliography, etc., makes this text one of the best available

Occupational Mobility in an American Community, by PERCY ERWIN DAVIDSON AND H. DEWEY ANDERSON. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1937, 203 pages.

This study of occupational mobility of seven per cent of the population of the San Jose Valley of California attempts to examine the social and economic forces at work in an American community. The data were secured from educational, vocational, racial, and religious group members in the community.

The study shows the role of many of our American institutions in meeting the problems of youth. Despite the heralded equality of opportunity in our democracy and the enormous educational programs, the youth for the most part inherit the vocational status of their fathers. In all classes except the professional group, the youth still must go through what the authors call "the floundering period" of vocational maladjustment. The book deserves close examination by every vocational guidance director, and every student of social forces.

Newspapers and the News, by SUSAN M. KINGSBURY, HORNELL HART, AND ASSOCIATES. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937, 233 pages.

The American public has been fully conscious of the importance of a free Press and has safeguarded it jealously because of its awareness that the press is one of the most important of all the agencies of public opinion in a democracy. As goes the Press so goes democracy. In spite of its supreme responsibility for public opinion and welfare the Press has not on the whole been sensitive to its obligations and there has been a growing feeling that it distorts the news and that it seeks and portrays the sensational. While the feeling of distrust has been growing we have had no study that would guide us in the extent of newspaper reliability and fairness in the presentation of material as basic to the formation of adequate judgments on public questions.

This volume, however, provides us with just such a study. It presents an objective examination of the American Press and provides measures for determining its reliability, bias, and other factors necessary for its appraisal. Its dedicatory note indicates not only its purpose, but its particular service to the educator who regards the press as a vital source of educational material. It is in part as follows: ". . . to all who have en-

listed, and will enlist, to work throughout this country in the colleges and elsewhere for this greatest of causes, the building of a model Press."

The Social Functions of Education, by ROBERT M. BEAR. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937, 434 pages.

This text in educational sociology is designed to help the reader achieve a social point of view in education. The first part of the book examines education in the light of the cultural milieu of the person. The second division deals with social problems of contemporary life as they relate to the school and other institutions of the student's world. The last division attempts to focus the attention on the school as an agency of social control and social progress.

Though the author achieves a synthesis rarely found in a book of this kind, one cannot help but wish that more attention had been given to juvenile delinquency as it relates to the school. In as much as two chapters are given to the school and its relation to the community, one would expect that the more recent trend of community coordination would have been included. The book is well documented, and should serve a useful purpose as a text in introductory sociology, and prove profitable reading for any one whose interest is in interpreting education from the sociological point of view.

The Teacher and Society, by WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; JOHN DEWEY, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, Columbia University; GEORGE W. HARTMANN, Associate Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; ERNEST O. MELBY, Dean of the School of Education, Northwestern University; JESSE H. NEWLON, Professor of Education, Columbia University; GEORGE D. STODDARD, Dean of the Graduate College, University of Iowa; HILDA TABA, Assistant Professor of Education, Ohio State University; GOODWIN WATSON, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; and LAURA ZIRBES, Professor of Education, Ohio State University. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, vii + 360 pages.

This is one of the most challenging presentations of the relation of the

teacher to society that has thus far appeared. Prepared by a group whose names are well known for their liberal point of view, the various authors have made a comprehensive analysis of the present "middle-of-the-road" position of the average teacher, the conservatism of the typical textbook, and the needed changes in the preparation of teachers.

The Establishment of an Adult School, by J. KEITH TORBERT. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 218 pages.

The subtitle is an apt description of the content, "A manual of suggestions based on experiences and experiments in Maplewood, New Jersey." It does not, however, do justice to the importance of the material included. While the material is drawn wholly from the Maplewood experience, it is written in a manner to be of specific assistance and genuine inspiration to any one interested in establishing or carrying on the work in adult education in any community.

It includes such practical problems as the introductory meeting, selection of the faculty, determination of the curriculum, financing the program, entertainment, and publicity. Although recognizing that conditions in local communities may make modification desirable, the author believes that in most communities the public school is the most logical agency for initiating the program and enlisting the coöperation of all other agencies.

With the growing interest in community planning and the increased recognition of the necessity of adequate provision for adult education, this little book is both timely and extremely significant.

The Teacher and the Curriculum, by JOHN P. WYNNE. New York: Prentice-Hall, Incorporated, 1937, 435 pages.

In the current period of educational discussions and the reconstruction of our programs of education, nothing has undergone greater change than the conception of the school curriculum. The change has manifested itself not only in the subject matter included, but also and to a much greater extent in the fundamental meaning of the term. Until the twentieth century the notion of the curriculum remained essentially fixed and meant a definite number of academic subjects that were to be memorized in school and recited upon for the teacher, with the knowledge gained in the process tested in a final examination at the end of the

school term. The curriculum, therefore, consisted of academic subjects, and education meant the acquisition of academic knowledge.

The present conception of the curriculum is wholly different from the naïve notions of the nineteenth century and, therefore, requires that the teacher understand the aims of education, the principles underlying the process of learning, the background of the child, and the principles of child guidance. This book will make the teacher intelligent about the whole educational process and, therefore, is an indispensable part of a teacher's library

Practical Sociology, by LESLIE DAY ZELAENY. New York: Prentice-Hall, Incorporated, 461 pages.

A textbook as interesting as a novel! Despite the author's statement of purpose, the social theorist and the social scientist will unfortunately criticize it—the former for its inductive approach, the latter for its use of everyday occurrence rather than scientific experimentation. But students will welcome it—and certainly their evaluation is important, even more so than that of the theorist.

Planned as a first book in sociology, it is written in a style which should make it a very valuable text in the increasing number of high-school courses offered in this field during the senior year of high school, as well as with freshmen in teachers colleges, junior colleges, and universities. While utilizing the terminology of sociology and developing the general principles, their use and description are drawn from carefully selected but homely occurrences familiar to each student. The outline, questions, activities, and projects all contribute to make this truly a "practical sociology"—practical not in the more technical sense but in the integration of sociological principles with the student's daily life and living.

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EDITORIAL

The movement toward the coördination of community agencies engaged in education, government, and social welfare has made such advances in the different parts of the country that the Editorial Board of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY decided to call representatives of these agencies together in conference at New York University to discuss the problems of coördination and to determine the points of emphasis for future effort. The sponsors of THE JOURNAL felt warranted in taking this step because of the fact THE JOURNAL had devoted several of its issues to the discussion of experiments in community coördination and coöperation in different parts of the United States in an effort to solve the many acute problems of community life. These sponsors were also impelled to take this step by the conviction that the problems with which all these agencies were concerned were essentially educational in character. This issue summarizes the discussions and results of that conference.¹

With the growing complexity and disorganization characteristic of modern life there is developing a new conception of education and its function in current society. The purpose of education as at present conceived by the sociologist is to effect changes in the behavior of individuals and of groups in the community. The ac-

¹ Conference on Current Problems in Community Coordination held at New York University School of Education, April 3, 1937

complishment of this task in turn depends upon the control of the situation affecting the behavior of those involved during the total life process. This conception of education implies that a whole situation whatever it might be affects behavior, and that all agencies performing a social service of any kind are involved in one way or another in the educational policies and are related to the whole task. The Council of Social Agencies is concerned primarily with the problems of social welfare, the Government is concerned with the administration of civic functions, and the schools are concerned with formal education, but the activities of each impinges upon the other and none can do an effective job without not only understanding the point of view and activities of the other, but coöperating in a common task. In spite of this reality each of the social and educational agencies has in the past, for the most part, worked independently. At many points there has been overlapping of efforts. No solution of the problem of education which involves welfare is possible, therefore, without mutual understanding and effort. There are, moreover, vested interests resulting from the history of the development of schools, community agencies, and government. Each has grown out of the past and out of conditions not comparable to those we face today. Each has served its function in a simpler society, but today we face such problems as youthful delinquency, crime, poverty, and education in the larger sense, which require a new technique and a new approach. Whether the coördination of the efforts of the various agencies and the common assumption of the task will prove effective is a matter for future historians to determine. It is, however, the deep conviction of *THE JOURNAL* that the only immediate possibility of successful achievement depends upon future development along the lines of discussion presented here. Such discussion ought to lead to a better differentiation of the problem and refinement of the efforts in the achievement of a common end.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

COORDINATING COUNCILS

KENNETH S. BEAM

National Probation Association

For the past year and a half the National Probation Association has been conducting a survey of coordinating councils in various parts of the country. They have identified more than two hundred and fifty of these councils located in twenty States. They go under quite a variety of names, such as neighborhood councils, child councils, youth councils, human relations councils, juvenile councils, community councils, social planning councils, and others.

These councils differ widely in certain details but the following definition seems to describe the general plan, organization, and purpose.

1. They organize on a community or neighborhood basis.
2. They bring together both lay and professional representatives of many organizations interested in the welfare of children, youth, the family, and the community.
3. They do not act as agencies but as counseling or coordinating bodies.
4. They are interested in the prevention of delinquency. Some make this their major objective while others consider it secondary.

In the membership they usually draw upon members of (1) city and county departments, representatives of (2) private agencies, and of (3) citizen organizations such as the service clubs, parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, and others. The councils vary considerably in the number of representatives of each of these groups. Some councils endeavor to maintain a balance between the three, being particularly insistent in having the citizen organizations well represented. In one large city no citizens' group is included. The councils are dominated by the public officials, with a limited number of representatives from private agencies. In another city the councils are 90 per cent lay and 10 per cent professional. In still another, they are dominated entirely by the citizen group with no social workers being invited.

It has been found that these councils do not do their best work unless they are sponsored by some well-recognized county or city department or private agency. In a number of eastern cities the Council of Social Agencies provides this leadership and has organized these councils on a neighborhood basis. On the Pacific coast in a number of large cities the juvenile court and probation departments have provided this leadership—in other instances the school department or even police department. In the State of Washington, the Department of Social Security has established a Division on Community Organization, and it is encouraging councils in the interest of child welfare. In Illinois, the Department of Public Welfare has authorized its State Sociologist to organize citizens and social workers into groups known as Big Brother and Big Sister Associations. In Pennsylvania and in Utah, the Department of Public Instruction encourages the organization of such councils, emphasizing the importance of recreation in the community. In California, also, the Department of Public Instruction has accepted the responsibility for serving the coordinating council movement.

Since the sponsorship of these councils varies, since there is also a great difference in the ideas and abilities of the leaders of such councils, it is natural to find that they differ greatly in their programs. However, this study has revealed that for the most part their programs generally include some or all of the following subjects:

1. Conducting sociological studies
2. Increasing recreation and group facilities, particularly in the areas where the delinquency rate is high
3. Providing service for individual children, sometimes creating a new type of service that had hitherto not been available
4. Giving special attention to young people from 16 to 25 who are out of school and out of work
5. Removing or controlling destructive influences in the community
6. Improving the home environment through extending the parent-education program into districts not ordinarily reached

It is exceedingly important that each council develop the form of program to meet its own needs and not attempt to imitate the program of some other council. Instances have been discovered where imitation was attempted, but where it did not succeed. The more originality shown by each council in discovering and meeting its own needs, the better. No two communities are exactly alike; therefore, the program of each council will differ in many details.

The study of this type of organization that has been made thus far by the National Probation Association has been extensive rather than intensive. A great many cities have been visited, many council meetings have been attended and interviews held. We have also accumulated a great many reports and statements by those who are actively engaged in this work. We have not been able to stay in one community long enough to make a real evaluation of the results secured or to talk with many people in addition to those who are actively engaged in this work. However, we have been able to arrive at certain conclusions and we seem justified in stating these at this time.

1. The theory of coordination of local resources is generally accepted as the most hopeful method of bringing about the changes necessary to prevent delinquency. The problem is too great for any one agency to solve alone.

2. The necessity of dividing large cities into units of workable size for study and organization is generally recognized

3. Delinquency prevention is not an objective that can be gained at one stroke or by one type of attack. It involves raising the standards of service to children, youth, and the standards of the home and of the community itself.

4. It is necessary to avoid the crystallization of programs and to avoid the assumption that a program that has worked successfully in one district can be applied with equal success in another. Each community must conduct its own studies and work out its own program.

5. Because of the resourcefulness, originality, and skill required in developing a program to meet the needs of each community, it is necessary

that only highly trained and experienced leaders be put in charge of this work in cities, counties, and in State organizations.

6. The greatest obstacles to success in this work are the noncoöperative, or agency-minded officials, social workers, ministers, and educators who do not accept any responsibility beyond the narrow confines of their own jobs, as they interpret their jobs. Sometimes what appears to be non-coöperation is caused by a lack of information or by pressure of work that prevents coöperative effort, or by lack of confidence in the leadership of the local council movement.

7. If this type of community organization is to succeed, a new type of training will have to be given in teachers' colleges, theological schools, schools of social work, and schools of public administration. In this new training, all students should be prepared for, and urged to participate in, community planning on a coöperative basis.

8. There is great variation in the efficiency of coöordinating and neighborhood councils just as there is in the efficiency of schools, churches, service clubs, and juvenile courts. The determining factor is the local leadership and the amount of assistance the local leader receives from city, county, or State offices.

9. In view of the number and complexity of the problems faced by local councils, it is necessary that young councils tackle simple problems and avoid the more difficult community situations until they are strong enough to cope with them. The mental-hygiene principle of planning successes for children in order to build up their self-confidence is one that council leaders may well follow.

10. Each council should have two sets of goals or objectives—the immediate and the remote. The immediate objective should be to meet the practical needs that are apparent to all members of the council and that are not beyond the powers of the council.

11. The broader the program, the more skillful the leader will have to be and the more coöperation he will need. Some of the older councils can carry on a successful attack on many fronts. But this success would not have come when the council was new, when the leaders were inexperienced, and the degree of coöperation uncertain.

12. Although this movement is still young, several councils have been encountered that are going through a period of reorganization. These councils started off under the wrong leadership and no real coordination took place. They became inactive for a time and were later revived under different leadership.

13. When there is no central control in city, county, or State, there is danger of instability and lack of permanence.

14. The entire movement throughout the country will lack stability and permanence until some national clearing house is established for information, for continuous research, and for advisory service.

As we have visited one council after another in many different cities and towns, we have become more and more convinced that the efficiency and success of these councils depends more upon their leadership than on their program, membership, or method of work. Some council sponsors and officers think in terms of credit and publicity. Certain leaders take pride in putting their ideas over instead of leading the group to reach certain conclusions through coordination of their ideas. Some leaders look upon their council as a functioning or action group rather than a coordinating and counseling body. The leaders who inspire the greatest loyalty on the part of the council members seem to know how to promote group thinking, joint planning, and a sharing of the responsibility. They are not so much concerned about securing immediate results as they are in enabling representatives of many different agencies to think together and actually to coordinate their efforts. They realize that this result cannot be obtained quickly, but when it is once accomplished, they can face almost any community problem with considerable hope of finding the correct solution.

The following statement is an attempt to describe the responsibility of the leader of a coordinating council:

1. No obvious advantage should accrue to the leader personally, nor to the organization he represents, beyond that shared by all participants.

2. The leader should have a broad interest in the community as a whole, far beyond the scope of his particular organization.

3. He should have respect for the work of other agencies than his own, and a full appreciation of the contributions of the diverse agencies, organizations, and institutions represented on the council.

4. He should have the respect of people representing different points of view, different degrees of training, and different backgrounds.

5. He should have the ability to detect and emphasize points of agreement and to minimize points of difference until common ground can be discovered.

6. He should have the ability to make the members of the council feel that it is not his organization but theirs, and that its success depends on their participation, their interest, and their full cooperation.

7. He should be convinced that the solution, not only of community problems, but of many domestic, industrial, and economic problems, depends upon cooperation and the harmonizing of different points of view; and that the coordinating council provides experience and demonstrates this truth which is important in many other areas of life.

In closing I would like to suggest that it would be well to make exhaustive studies of the attitudes, motives, and methods of sponsors and leaders of these councils. We should also gather all the material available on the technique of cooperation and coordination. We should devise a method for evaluating the work of these councils which would take into account their effect on agencies, institutions, officials, communities, and the lives of children. Another real service to these councils would be the preparation of a comprehensive statement of the human needs to be met through community organization. There are certain standards in each field. This could well be a composite statement prepared by the representatives of national agencies organized to meet certain human needs.

SCHOOLS AND THE COORDINATING MOVEMENT

JULIUS YOURMAN

New York University School of Education

In *The Masque of the Red Death*, Poe has Prince Prospero seal the walls of his castle so that he and his nobles might feast and dance while the Red Death ravished outside. Despite the protection of the sealed walls, the horror and reality came into the ballrooms. In the same way have the realities of community life forced themselves through the insulation of the school walls and disturbed the carefully controlled make-believe world in the classroom.

Children have been able to develop artificial vocabularies, enthusiasms and moral standards, and artificial problems for projects, but when the effects of the plagues of dependency, disease, prejudice, accidents, malnutrition, emotional instability, wavering morale, and frustration are brought into the schools, merely handing down the best contributions of the past obviously is inadequate.

Symptomatic of the changing emphasis are the last three year-books of the N.E.A. Department of Superintendence on "Social Change and Education," "The Social Studies Curriculum," and "Improvement of Education—Its Interpretation for Democracy." Another recent exposition of the broader responsibilities of the schools is the report of the Educational Policies Commission—"The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy."

In the March 1937 issue of *The Journal of the National Education Association*, the United States Commissioner of Education Dr. Studebaker states that "the issues in education are born of the issues in society," and he gives ten major educational responsibilities:

1. The conflict between theories of dictatorship and democracy
2. The conflict between economic independence and security
3. The world-wide threat of devastating war
4. The need for Pan-American understanding
5. The responsibility for educational uses of radio

6. The problem of crime and juvenile delinquency
7. The obligation to improve safety education
8. The need for lifting the cultural level
9. The necessity for preserving natural resources
10. The extension of equal educational opportunities

Can the schools meet these responsibilities? *Yes—but not alone!* Dare the schools build a new social order? *Yes—but not alone!* Can the schools develop well-adjusted citizens? *Yes—but not alone!* Yet the development of well-adjusted citizens is the basic function of public schools—the only function that justifies publicly supported free education. From the beginning, public education has been justified as an arm of protection. As a consequence, school taxes are paid for protection and not for tuition; education is not an opportunity nor a charitable service; it is a requirement. Changes in school procedures and vertical and horizontal expansions in school programs can be justified only in the light of changing requirements of well-adjusted citizenship.

At first, basic academic tools were adequate and the school years and requirements were few. Later, history, geography, civics, advanced arithmetic, and language, and more recently a variety of special subjects were added. As the requirements for citizenship became more pressing, special services and programs were added until schools sought to solve all the problems of health, family adjustment, leisure-time activities, safety, character, vocational education and placement, and preparation for parenthood. Many educators feel that, if the school program and services were extended, the school could meet the problems of personal, family, and community maladjustments.

However, an increasing number of educators feel that—despite continued expansion of the school program, special services, and personnel—the work of the school at best will be remedial, piecemeal, and inefficient without community understanding and support. They conceive education as a community responsibility, with

the school staff responsible for leadership and the school building as the logical center of community education, recreation, and planning.

As schools adjust to their new role the following changes are evident:

1. Principals and their teachers participate with other community leaders on committees considering the needs and services in such areas as recreation, health, crime prevention, adult education, safety, housing, employment, and education. If such community committees are not present or effective, the school staff initiates and stimulates their development.

2. Community problems become the material for classroom, school, and club activities, thus establishing a practical program of vitalized civic education—preparing well-adjusted effective citizens and giving education a continuity in life.

3. The school staff is reeducated to participate in community study, planning, and action. It is depressing to discover how incompetent the cloistered, well-trained classroom teacher is when she meets representatives of other professional and lay organizations and agencies on committees.

4. A new school staff is organized to take over the school facilities and program after the children's compulsory school day is over. The training of this staff is the most pressing problem in community coordination.

5. The school begins to interpret its program to the community. Legally, the schools are run by the people through the lay board and changes can be made only after the community understands and approves. Community coordination gives a new impetus to school improvement and places a new responsibility on school board members.

Schools need no longer complain that despite the fact that they provide expensive leadership and facilities to develop worthy leisure-time habits, the community offers nothing but corners and poolrooms—*schools and the community can do something about it!* No longer need schools admit helplessly that health education, safety education, language, honesty, emotional adjustment, respect for law, and cooperation taught in schools are ineffective because conditions in the community make it impossible for the children to apply what they have learned. *Schools and the community can do*

something about it! Schools can help—or if necessary, they can lead—representative citizens to make their community a better place in which to live, and, at the same time, prepare children to grow into and to build a better social order.

Inspiring evidences of effective programs of school-community coördination will be presented in papers that follow and additional evidences of unselfish adult service and startling student interest and achievements in community study, planning, and improvement are displayed in the conference exhibition.¹

The panel session will seek to clarify questions of sponsorship, organization, and programs of coördinating councils. My experience suggests that each community will develop its program according to its available services and leadership. Whether the council of social agencies, a civic group, a court, a parent-teacher association, or a school staff initiates the program, the coordinating body must soon divorce itself from all operating agencies.

In every community the school, to justify its existence and the money spent for its buildings and equipment, must take an active part in the coördinating movement. In most communities the school will be the only agency with public confidence and resources capable of initiating the program. Let us hope that few educators will continue to seal their walls against reality and opportunity.

¹ The paper presented by Bertha M. Smith, "The Yonkers Plan of Community Coordination," describing a broad effective city program will appear in the December 1937 issue of *The Journal*, which will describe the several aspects of the Yonkers Plan

THE ELIZABETH PLAN FOR A COMMUNITY-WIDE ATTACK ON SOCIAL ILLS

ERNEST L. CHASE

Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Elizabeth, N. J.

Thirteen years ago, certain of the citizens, sensing the financial and human waste involved in competitive and uncorrelated programs for meeting human needs, formed the Elizabeth Council of Social Agencies, made up of professional and lay persons connected with the agencies. This was the first formal step in joint social planning. It brought into cooperation, nominally at least, twenty-five to thirty-five private and public agencies, organizations, and departments of social work representing all faiths and political alignments. The values of this coöperative venture were real. Widened understanding of other viewpoints and programs, more prevalent group thinking on local and general social problems, the gradual increase of coöperative action, and the breaking down of some prejudices were not the least of these values.

Following the common practice among similar bodies in other cities, this Council has, over the years, obtained specialists as speakers for the functional groups and the entire Council; encouraged "self-surveys" of some of the agencies; appointed committees which studied specific social problems, interagency and general; employed specialists on a few occasions for formal surveys of certain fields, such as a study of the Negro population; and, nine years ago, created and set to functioning a Social Service Exchange, or central index for joint-case registry. By coöperating with various clubs and the Junior League, certain educational projects were well promoted and an active Volunteer Placement Bureau, finding lay assistance for the agencies, became effective.

Five years ago, with the aid of the depression, the Council brought forth and mothered the Community Chest, a lusty child dedicated to the joint financing of the work of fifteen of the private agencies

which represented about fifty per cent of the Council's agency members. Recording in advance this child's life task, they wrote its purpose to be:

First: To study the social-service problems and needs of the City of Elizabeth and vicinity; to further cooperation and unity of action among the various social, civic, educational, and charitable organizations; to formulate cooperative plans of social work that will cover the needs adequately, and to promote in general the social welfare of the community, and

Second: To raise, manage, and disburse what is commonly known as a "Community Fund," etc.

Then, approximately one and a half years ago, the Council achieved an ambition of many years standing in abetting the employment by the Community Chest of a full-time Chest executive, to divide his time with the Council of Social Agencies. This was the last of four outstanding steps in the history of coordination of social work in Elizabeth, each four years apart, as follows: establishment of Council of Social Agencies, 1924; establishment of Social Service Exchange, 1928, incorporation of the Community Chest, 1932; and first year-round coordinator, 1936.

Of course, there were other community forces active over these years in the study and promotion of the social welfare of the community, not all of which were associated with the Council of Social Agencies. For instance, a Mayor's Housing Commission completed a very thorough housing survey by using many active citizens. The Board of Education had been unusually progressive in adapting the new areas of knowledge to its program and in surveying certain fields like juvenile delinquency to help meet the social needs of the community. The churches—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish—had been making the usual moral and spiritual contribution and some had found it profitable to devote a larger proportion of their facilities for recreational youth programs than previously. The Court of Juvenile and Domestic Relations, established in 1931, had, with the

Probation Department, done a progressive job. The foreign-language groups and the civic and service clubs and lodges had, from time to time, been interested in, and made certain contributions to, the social welfare.

A NEW APPROACH

The question arose as to how community coördinating and planning differed from the past joint planning of these agencies. It was believed that although the coöperative *agency* planning and *agency* coördinating of the past was an indispensable step in the evolutionary process toward community planning, still it was not community coordination and planning as we see it today. Although these joint actions aided in eliminating overlapping in *agency* programs, produced much desirable social action, and helped to create more intelligent public opinion concerning social *agency* problems, still they were thought out and wrought out by agency persons and were consequently more largely *agency* centered than community centered.

Agency-mindedness—that bent of mind which interprets community problems in terms of one or more agencies—while necessary for the work and preservation of these agencies, must be fructified with other-mindedness if joint planning is to result in community-wide coördination in the welfare field. The very responsibilities of the professional and lay leaders to their agencies monopolize so definite a part of their social thinking and loyalty that this must be so.

With a firm belief in the necessity of wide intracity collaboration in community planning, a few leaders became convinced that Elizabeth had reached that stage of development where, if further progress was to be made in social planning, new mechanisms were necessary. It was frankly faced that the knowledge, experience, and skill of the executives of the public and private agencies were indispensable but must be supplemented with different knowledge, viewpoints, and experience of other citizens whose loyalties to these

social institutions were not already preëmpted. This new approach would not alone seek complete facts and disseminate them among neighborhood leaders of thought but would then enlist the resources of experience, imagination, and interpretative ability of these leaders, most of whom are not now vitally informed on the social problems. It would thus challenge their participation in helping to lift the community load, and likewise interpret the essential agency programs through this new type of contact with, and knowledge of, social problems.

Such a new approach it was found must expect a bit of misunderstanding from leaders in the present private, proprietary, and public social-work organizations; it must face the fact of the prevalence of inertia in the whole social organization when coöperation of efforts is asked; and it must not be discouraged by the difficulty of obtaining comprehensive and accurate facts and honest scientific thinking in some areas of social work and human need.

It became obvious that the new approach must have a new mechanism capable of bringing to pass: (1) fact research to ascertain the total picture of the social problems of the city, (2) aggressive organization to integrate the social units into fair cross-section groups, (3) group collaboration to synthesize and interpret the findings, (4) fact dissemination to acquaint agencies and individuals with the total problems and with the section problems, (5) group and agency consultation to interpret the agency resources in terms of the problems, (6) community-wide collaboration in planning to indicate needed future action, (7) agency coöperation and project promotion to stimulate continuous effort to translate the recommendations into action, (8) central professional supervision to keep all parts actively synchronized, and (9) the spiritual dynamic of a clear vision of the possibilities of success in arresting the depredations of those public enemies which menace the individual and collective welfare.

The magnitude of the task and the utter lack of funds for financing the research and organizational work did not daunt the few

bold spirits whose imaginations had caught the vision of new high levels of community well-being. They decided to begin and to seek both the friends and funds as they went along. A chance was to be taken, but the ends seemed worth it.

The idea was outlined first to the Executive Committee of the Council of Social Agencies on March 3, 1936. It was announced that the services of a National Youth Administration project to assist in the fact-finding had been obtained and a tentative plan of action, unique in some respects, and called "The Elizabeth Plan for a Community-Wide Attack on Social Ills,"¹ was proposed and the entire idea approved. There was thus launched for a tryout a new philosophy, or at least a new concept, of community planning in Elizabeth which was only to be understood by many of those who would coöperate in it as its work progressed.

THE NEW MECHANISM FOR COMMUNITY COÖRDINATION

I. The Theoretical Steps

The Elizabeth Plan provided in theory for the creation of a Central Planning Board composed of citizens with definite knowledge of, or interest in (but not necessarily officially representing or connected with), one of the public or private organizations, departments of government, or special interests engaged in or related to any phase of the social-welfare field. For specialization and action, these representatives are grouped under seven functional sections covering the field corresponding to their interests. These seven sections were: Child Welfare, Character Recreation, Housing, Delinquency Prevention, Health, Education, and Family Welfare. The plan further provided for the creation of Coordinating Round Tables in homogeneous areas of the city, to be indigenous autonomic citizen groups, to assist in solving the local problems by coöordinated action with the community-wide agencies and resources and by other appropriate means.

¹ See Author's Note No. 1 on page 96.

A. This Central Planning Board's functions were briefly explained as:

- 1 To review available fact-finding studies and/or to make necessary studies of sociological conditions including pathological, ecological, and economic problems and general welfare conditions, to inventory and appraise the facilities available for meeting these problems or alleviating adverse conditions, and to assemble and correlate such evidence as might assist in interpreting and reaching conclusions from the facts

- 2 To correlate and analyze and to suggest interpretation of all factual data on the basis of the twelve local geographic areas selected for the Coordinating Round Tables described here, and to place such pertinent information and conclusions in the hands of the members who comprise these Round Tables as soon as they are organized and ready to function, and at any time to disseminate the facts and conclusions into such other channels—professional and lay—as may result in furthering the ends of this plan

- 3 To seek, interest, and appoint responsible local civic-minded citizens who live or are occupied in the respective Round-Table districts; to assist in completing these district organizations in a manner that their efforts may be correlated with all other similar groups as specified in the description of the Round Tables; to receive reports, requests for information or suggestions as to local conditions, needed projects, and probable local support; and bring about local coordination of thought and action

- 4 To prepare a practical Community Plan (of necessity mostly long range) made up of recommendations describing possible courses of immediate and/or distant future action for the amelioration, prevention, and elimination of those social conditions which are a menace to present individual welfare and those which may tend to prevent our citizens from living normal lives in the future.

- 5 To continue to assemble, analyze, and interpret the factual data and to disseminate the facts and recommendations periodically, to continue to promote cooperative action between all organizations in the solution of local social problems and continue to stimulate community action by such means as may serve to translate the recommendations of the Community Plan into action.

B. The Community Coordinating Round Tables are briefly described as follows:

1. The membership of the Round Tables to be made up of responsible and interested local citizens living or occupied in the respective districts and may consist of school principals, clergymen, heads of local civic or welfare groups, parent-teacher associations, youth organizations, health and law-enforcement groups, and others found to be interested to cooperate in remedying adverse local conditions.

2. The areas chosen for the Round Tables were the twelve respective districts bounded by the old ward lines used in the 1930 Federal census. These areas, while not strictly sociologically and economically homogeneous, were considered sufficiently so for these purposes.

3. These Round Tables are to meet at specific times, receive the reports from the sections of the Central Planning Board, report their own recommendations, additional findings and actions, and otherwise correlate their work with other Round Tables and the Central Planning Board. They will call upon the functional sections and the various social agencies for information or assistance concerning local problems.

4. These Round Tables are to be action centers in their districts, to consider and set up means to attack local social problems by curative and preventative action, and to formulate constructive plans and projects for the general benefit of their own areas. They may ask the cooperation of the various functional groups on specific problems in the respective social-work fields: as child welfare, housing, etc., and the entire Central Planning Board on such courses involving political action or the creation of public opinion on vital issues of local import when deemed best.

C. Dynamic Planning Steps. It is essential to differentiate between this approach or plan which we call dynamic community coordination in social planning and the usual social planning made up of researches by specialized experts in specific social fields which seem largely to be used for the guidance of agency programs.

The latter are usually agency sponsored and deal largely with the agency's part in the community program. The former, while requiring the cooperation of all agencies, attempts also to bring a larger cross section of community thought to bear upon a more complete fact picture and analysis of community problems and vitally to organize a community-wide attack on social ills.

The logical steps in dynamic community coordination for social planning seem to be the following:

1. To reach every agency and organization engaged in or whose program bears upon the social-welfare field and obtain pertinent factual data concerning or revealing social problems and conditions and the local facilities and programs offered to meet those problems
2. To organize and correlate the facts so assembled on a basis of homogeneous areas to localize the problem for the purpose of comparison and capitalization of neighborhood loyalties and civic pride
3. To analyze, appraise, evaluate, and otherwise interpret these organized facts by comparison with nationally obtained standards or generally accepted good practice.
4. To seek and formulate preliminary conclusions drawn from the cause and effect relationships revealed by the interpreted statistics, with the assistance of the agencies interested.
5. To bring about a sort of dynamometamorphism by transforming the energy latent in dramatized facts into the energy of desire for action by citizens through disseminating the knowledge of the problems among professional and selected lay groups in the community.
6. To make field tests of the preliminary conclusions by presenting them in the local areas, obtain lay interpretations and reactions, and with this reexamine the preliminary conclusions in view of the informed lay attitude toward them.
7. To prepare recommendations describing possible future courses of action for the amelioration, prevention, and elimination of the problems found and the setting up of a practical community plan toward the fulfillment of which all community organizations may be expected to work.
8. To promote coordination of all agency programs and the creation of lay or professional projects which shall dynamically translate the recommendations and plans into action.

These so-called logical steps have not in this one-year experiment been followed in numerical order, but at times each step became a part of the forward movement. Some actions, obviously needed, were taken by informed groups in advance of the issuance of preliminary conclusions, for it is expected that years may elapse before a final plan has crystallized. Inasmuch as this is a dynamic course of procedure, action must not become static waiting for the plan.

II. The Organizational Steps

A. The selection of personnel for the Central Planning Board began with the listing and classification of every known organization and interest engaging in or relating to any phase of social welfare. This list for the City of Elizabeth was made up of eighty-four organizations and departments, divided into seven functional sections, as shown below:

Health Section Medical Dental Service Bureau, St Elizabeth Hospital; Elizabeth General Hospital, Alexian Brothers Hospital, Visiting Nurse Association, Health Department—Public Schools, County Public Health Council, Union County Tuberculosis League, New Jersey State Dental Society, Union County Dental Association, Mental Hygiene; Board of Health, Elizabeth Safety Council; Union County Medical Society

Family Section Mount Carmel Guild, American Red Cross, Family Welfare Society; United Hebrew Charities; Salvation Army, Home for Aged Women, Department of Public Welfare—Executive, Department of Public Welfare—Supervisor of Visitors, Overseer of Poor; Rescue Mission, Old-Age Pensions

Child Section State Board Children's Guardians, Egenolf Day Nursery, Janet Memorial Home, Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Child Welfare Department—Public Schools, Rotary Club Crippled Kiddies, Elks Crippled Kiddies, Union County Commission on Public Welfare

Delinquency Prevention Section Elizabeth Recreation Commission; Union County Court Probation Service—Statistician; Union County Court Probation Service—Executive; Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, Kiwanis Underprivileged Child Committee, Rotary Club Boys' Committee, Church Mission of Help, Board of Education, State Parole Department, Elizabeth Police Department, Attendance Department—Public Schools

Education Section American Association of University Women, Superintendent of Public Schools, Private Schools—Girls, Private Schools—Boys, Parochial Schools, Parent-Teacher Associations, Federated, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Catholic Church, Protestant Church; Jewish Church; Superintendent of County Schools, Industrial Education of Public Schools, Public Library, Vocational Guidance, State Department of Public Education.

Character-Recreation Section Boy Scouts of America, Bayway Community House, Youth Guidance—Public Schools, Elizabeth Recreation Commission; Girl Scouts of America, Union County Home Economics Extension Service, The Polish Alliance, Pioneer Club, Total Abstinence Benevolence Society, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association; The Spanish Club

Housing Section Downtown Interests—Real Estate, Architects, Department of Public Works, Banking Interests, City Fire Department, City Department of Buildings, City Engineer, Colored Interests—General, Colored Interests—Public Schools, Downtown Interests—Commercial; Downtown Improvement Association; Union County Central Labor Union, Real-Estate Board, Junior League, League of Women Voters

The selection and appointment of key persons to represent the thought of the various organizations were discussed and partially completed at an executive meeting of the Council of Social Agencies. Then, to expedite the procedure, it was given to a committee with power to act and completed after many conferences and telephone calls. For chairmen of the seven functional sections, lay persons were chosen with a wide variety of community interests and viewpoints but each known as a mature public-spirited citizen. One manages real-estate holdings and insurance operations, one is a former State Assemblyman and judge, one an architect, one a retired business man, one an active attorney, one a president of the Minister's Association, and the last is an administrative head in one of the Federal organizations. Of these, one was a prominent Catholic and one a woman with a wide social-work background.

B The task of selling the idea to the community started with these appointed members of the Central Planning Board consisting of approximately ninety persons who had consented to participate in this new approach to our city-wide problems. Each section was, in turn, called for meeting by its chairman for organization and education. The attendance at these meetings was above the average for civic functions, being over ninety per cent in some sections. A diagram of organizational setup, with a brief typed statement of the expected procedure, together with maps showing Round-Table districts with physical and population characteristics, were distributed to each with appropriate explanation. This helped to sell them on the appropriateness of the mechanism as set up through which to bring about the planning and coordinating

Resistance to the total idea was presented by many of the representatives who were experts in their particular fields. The program was believed to be idealistic and impractical by them and especially because of the number of "inexperienced lay persons" who were to participate in a part of the work. This rebuff taught the planners that the idea *must be sold and proved*. Accordingly, there were pre-

pared two sample maps, one for each of the best and worst (socially and economically speaking) of the Round-Table districts, on which they were able to demonstrate how facts could be made vivid and stirring by being localized. Previously there had been obtained the rates of infant mortality, tuberculosis, diphtheria, and juvenile delinquency from the State housing survey. By comparing these rates side by side on the two maps, there became visually evident the prevalence of these problems in the poor and congested area and how almost nonexistent they were in the better area.

For additional sales matter, there had also previously been gathered from other communities facts to prove that even partial coordination of activities aided in reducing the problems of disease, delinquency, and dependency. The membership of the functional groups was impressed with these factual illustrations and finally convinced with other specific facts about definite social gains affected in Detroit against a rising tuberculosis rate, or in Cincinnati in isolating the section responsible for tuberculosis spread as described in Paul DeKruif's book *Why Keep Them Alive*, or in Richmond, Virginia, where the Council of Social Agencies' research spotted the delinquency area on the doorstep of certain surprised community organizations. In the face of such facts, most of the opposition crumbled where the purpose was sincere and not mere prejudice, and changed attitudes were generally brought about.

C. For protection and control of actions and publicity in connection with the plan, the seven chairmen of the functional sections were designated a Control Committee. Lest there be promulgated half-baked plans or disseminated improperly interpreted statistics, a regulation was agreed upon that no findings or plans could be given publication or other dissemination and no actions or plans could be put in effect until all such were approved, first, by the functional section involved, and, second, by the Control Committee. Continual reminders of the positiveness of the control involved in this double check was necessary to allay the fear that statistics

gathered might, along the line, be misinterpreted or mishandled so as to bring injury to individuals or organizations. It was found that so deep is the subjective attitude of some agency executives that they were supersensitive in regard to their confidential files, and it became necessary for the Central Planning Board often to reaffirm its carefulness in these matters.

D. The organization of Coördinating Round Tables could not properly begin in the twelve neighborhoods until sufficient approved factual data were organized to disseminate to them. Almost a year elapsed before the first of these local coördinating groups could be set up. At this writing, three Round Tables have been projected and organization begun by the Central Planning Board and only one has received its first installment of the local fact picture and has met for education and action. The personnel of these Round Tables was recruited by nominations from the members of the Central Planning Board and restricted to responsible local citizens living or occupied in the respective districts and are found to comprise in general those classifications anticipated in the theoretical setup for the membership.^a

III. Assembling the Data

A. The process involved in obtaining city-wide detailed social facts in such organized manner as to make possible valuable interpretation and their later division into the twelve Round-Table areas was acknowledged to be a technical task requiring expert direction. There was set up a research staff composed of National Youth Administration workers under professional supervision. The 90 members of the sections of the Central Planning Board were called upon for volunteer coöperation for opening doors and other guidance in gathering the statistics. The agencies were offered stenographic and tabulating assistance from the research staff, and all

^a See Author's Note No. 2 on page 96.

were assured and reassured that this was "fact-finding" and *not* a "fault-finding" survey. Many acted at once.

Added inducements were offered to the more reluctant organizations in the way of stenographic assistance for their other office tasks to compensate for the time lost in providing the needed data. In many cases where the agency executives and boards considered their confidential files to be sacred trusts, they, nevertheless, readily coöperated in supplying information on tabulation forms and questionnaires provided, but others required months of patient persuasion before they would consent to trust the research staff with "confidential records," although assured that all name and address identity was fully protected. Only about three agencies out of over one hundred sources are still on the "hold-out" list.

It was apparent that these section members could not be asked to attempt such tasks as making the five-year study of the dockets of the Court of Juvenile and Domestic Relations, or gathering the voluminous vital statistics and health figures from the health agencies, or tabulating the volume of statistics representing the relief load from the Department of Public Welfare; but the assistance of the city's school principals and teachers was obtained in gathering 1,200,000 answers to questions from school children above eight years of age.

The research department of the State Department of Institutions and Agencies assisted by preparing very valuable tabulations and charts covering the Elizabeth inmates of the various State institutions and by providing measuring sticks from State-wide facts to facilitate the interpretation of local data, and the State Housing Authority made available the figures applicable to Elizabeth for the Real Property Inventory of 1934.

The final responsibility and real labor involved in gathering, tabulating, organizing, and correlating this data falls upon the Executive Secretary of the Council of Social Agencies and an efficient Assistant Secretary of the Central Planning Board, who was the

supervisor of the National Youth Administration Project of youth workers who composed the research staff and whose entire maintenance came from Federal funds.

At the end of the first year the social inventory was approximately ninety per cent complete and the organization and correlation of the data was approximately forty-five per cent complete. With the assumed coöperation of those few "hold-out" agencies, this phase of the plan should be completed in the next three months.

B. The type of data sought had, of necessity, to be quite varied in order to obtain an adequate inventory of the welfare facilities and of the complex social problems in a city like Elizabeth. Only major illustrations from three of the seven functional groups will be given here to indicate progress up to date.

The Education Section has only partly completed its inventory of those church facilities and programs which are in the field of social work and recreation. Its failure in its past approach to sell the idea to the extent of getting complete facts is being reviewed for a new attempt. The public and private schools, showing confidence, offered complete coöperation. A committee of principals approved the school questionnaire of 100 questions and the teachers cooperated by obtaining answers from over fifteen thousand children over eight years of age. Eighty per cent of the returns are usable, giving more than 1,200,000 questions, which, upon tabulation into our twelve areas of study, provided highly significant and informative facts concerning the social and economic backgrounds and present tendencies in these areas classified under four major groups.

1. Educational facilities in the home of the pupil; *i.e.*, newspapers, magazines, radios, and use made of public library

2. Recreation opportunities and preferences of the pupils, *i.e.*, memberships in clubs or organizations, use of playgrounds, preference for home or street, etc.

3. Use of health and welfare facilities by family; *i.e.*, hospitalization, immunization, dental need and care, physical handicaps, etc

4. Economic status of family; *i e.*, unemployment of father, home work from factories, living conditions, rooms per family, families in same building, etc.

Also, under this section, there are in process studies of industrial-educational programs in the large plants, special Negro-educational problems, adult-educational programs, and parochial-school data, as well as an inventory of all school facilities, amount of the total city investment in education, cost of annual maintenance, sources of educational funds, community use of public-school properties, educational administration, curricula, etc.

The Housing Section has completed its survey of the structures and conditions in which citizens of Elizabeth live. In coöperation with the State Housing Authority and using the data compiled by a Real Property Inventory in 1934, this section has tabulated and separated into the twelve areas of this study accurate figures on all structures in the city according to:

1. Type single family, row house, two family, three family, four family, apartments, hotels, rooming houses, etc.
2. Ages in four-year periods back to 1894, and in longer periods back to 1848
3. Condition. good, minor repairs, major repairs, unfit for use
4. Materials: wood, brick, stone, stucco

The dwelling units in each of the twelve areas were tabulated according to:

1. Type single family, row, etc.
2. Rentals: under \$10 00, \$10.00-\$14 99, \$15 00-\$19 99, etc
3. Occupancy. owner, rental, vacant, extra families
4. Persons per room very spacious, adequate, crowded, etc
5. Race of occupants white, Negro, other
6. Baths and showers none, 1, 2
7. Running water cold, hot and cold, none
8. Water closets. one private, two or more, partial use in hall, no indoor water closets

The value of such a study in each of the twelve areas of Elizabeth becomes apparent when it is known that the Housing Section will later have at its disposal full facts relating to health, dependency, crime, and other problems, together with reasonable estimates of the social costs of these, to superimpose upon the housing facts of these twelve districts, thus enabling them to have statistical proof of the relative need of better housing in the most needful areas.

The Character-Recreation Section has completed its survey of all of the facilities including the type and extent of facilities available to youth between the ages of five and fifteen years and the extent to which these are being utilized. Facts connected with the programs of agencies in the character-building and recreational fields have also been secured for purposes of later study.

The statistics, as in all other cases, have been tabulated under the twelve areas of study and, for each, divided into the following:

1. Type of facility: scout troops, supervised neighborhood clubs, playgrounds, community centers, churches—in all, 232 separate units
2. Extent utilized: all organizations' members, such as the "Y's," girl- and boy-scout troops, Sunday schools, spotted to indicate the extent each area is using an organization and establishing the extent to which an organization in a certain area is serving the youth of that area *

IV. Disseminating the Facts

A. The Functional Sections of the Central Planning Board are the first to receive the correlated facts and to get the inspiration of the possibilities therein. Here begins the process of interpretation which leads to conclusions. Recognized standards or common practice in the particular field are a part of these facts and the gravity or insignificance of a problem appears, or the adequacy or lack of a service becomes evident.

The facts are arranged to enhance comparisons and to encourage evaluations. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising to find

* See Author's Note No. 3 on page 96

that lay persons appear to arrive at more accurate conclusions than those professionally dealing with the problems and the rendering of the services.

The next step is for the report of the Functional Section to go to the Control Committee where it is looked at in the light of the facts of the other sections and the policies which may have been adopted. Then facts and interpretations are passed direct to the Coördinating Round Tables in the various areas where another group of citizens still closer to the specific social problems in the areas begins to see what these problems are, what agencies are available to assist in the solution of the problems, and how the scientific method of obtaining facts and attacking problems is the best start toward a solution of these problems.

B. Social-work agencies and individuals who are leaders of thought but who are not connected with the Central Planning Board receive their copies of the facts of the study and the conclusions derived therefrom after these have passed through the hands of the Control Committee. Simultaneously, releases covering the facts and conclusions are given to the local newspaper, which so far has accepted them and given them gratifying space under double-column headings.

V. Observed Results

Awaiting the completion of the preliminary fact finding and complete setup of the Coördinating Round Tables, it has been impossible for the Central Planning Board to begin preparation of the Community Plan, yet distinct observable good results have been found in this, the first year of the attempt, some of which are merely further agency correlation, but all of which are definitely in the direction of community planning. The mere presentation of facts has brought about action in some fields. New interest from heretofore latent groups has been manifested and social agencies have

been quick to sense weaknesses in their past programs. Some of the instances are as follows:

A. The first three meetings of Coordinating Round Tables have resulted in much local interest and produced valuable suggestions for clearer interpretation of the local facts. Finding the statistics broken into the twelve areas, they became things of vital interest. No one's blood pressure rose when informed that the city's infant mortality rate was two points higher or lower than the national rate, but the reaction was quite different on the Round-Table members when they were informed that babies in this specific local area have one tenth the chance of living as babies born in another district of the city.

B. When the spot maps disclosed that in one of the areas of high juvenile delinquency there was but one Boy-Scout troop, all of the members of which, except three, came from other areas, the Boy-Scout organization opened wide its eyes with the result that three new scout troops have been organized within the following six months' period.

C. When advance figures came to the attention of the City Recreation Commission, which is a member of the Central Planning Board, showing that the high point in juvenile delinquency had shifted from the downtown to the midtown area and that here recreation facilities were lacking, these facts confirmed opinions previously held and aided in crystallizing sentiment for the creation of the Midtown Community Center, which was opened three months ago and is now in successful operation.

D. When a comparison of city-wide statistics indicated that from the taxpayer's viewpoint the problem of mental disease outranked the tuberculosis and juvenile delinquency problems by 100 per cent, three agencies immediately became alert. Within the six months' period since the revelation of these facts, a health agency has added a psychiatric worker, the school department has added a sociologist,

and the Council of Social Agencies has set up new programs and begun definite educational work in the fields of mental hygiene and social hygiene. The addition of two workers in the mental-disease field had been under contemplation previously for the need was known in a general way, but a knowledge of the definite facts armed and emboldened the proponents to take the necessary action.

E. A lack of facilities in one of the agencies at certain periods of the day was found and unused equipment in a neighboring agency was also revealed by the survey. The two were matched and now are coöperating with definite gain to the welfare program and without additional cost to the community.

F. The completion of the study of the Character-Recreation Section enabled the Delinquency Prevention Committee to account for certain shifts in the high juvenile-delinquency areas. In turn, the five-year study of the Delinquency Prevention Section when correlated with the facts of the character-recreation programs and agencies indicated clearly which community forces were making definite contributions to the fight on delinquency.

G. The wisdom of breaking the city-wide statistics down into neighborhood areas was demonstrated when the satisfaction with one report (indicating that the number of juveniles arrested for delinquency had been cut 50 per cent in six years) was seriously jarred with another report disclosing that in the same period two specific areas had had an increase of over 50 per cent.

VI. Conclusion

The Elizabeth experiment with this new approach in Community Planning is but one year old. It has already gone a long way in coordinating community agencies in united action for fact finding. It is barely beginning the job of group collaboration to synthesize the thinking and obtain interpretation of the findings and sees that many months must elapse before its Community Plan is written and courses of future action can be laid down.

But the vision of ultimate success which looms in this fight against part of the public enemies which menace the individual and collective welfare is so much brighter now than when the start was made without funds one year ago that many have joined the ranks of those who pledge themselves to a coördinated program in which feeling gives way to fact finding and guessing is put aside for planning.

Author's Notes as of October 1, 1937

Since the preparation of this paper last May, there have been significant changes and new progress in the Elizabeth Plan which seem worth noting here.

Note No. 1: The geographical scope of the plan has been enlarged to include the contiguous cities of Linden, Hillside, Roselle, Roselle Park, and Union, at the request of citizens in these communities. The name of the plan has therefore been changed to "The Six Town Plan."

Note No. 2. As of this date, there are five Round Tables organized and meeting on specific neighborhood problems with total membership of 151. Very definite preventative and anticipative measures are under way by these groups. Four additional Round Tables are also in process of organization.

Note No. 3. As of this date, the following research studies have been completed or preliminary reports made by the functional sections, as follows:

<i>Study</i>	<i>Section</i>
"Juvenile Delinquents" (complete)	Delinquency Prevention Section
"Adult Delinquents" (complete)	Delinquency Prevention Section
"Character-Recreation Facilities and Their Use" (complete)	Character-Recreation Section
"Home Conditions of 12,000 Public-School Pupils" (preliminary)	Education Section
"Pathological Conditions" (preliminary)	Health Section
"Family and Adult Problems" (preliminary)	Family Section
"Dependent Children" (preliminary)	Child Section
"Housing Report" (complete)	Housing Section

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN MADISON, NEW JERSEY

S. E. WITCHELL

Madison Social Planning Council

Any community organization evident in Madison, as a result of social planning, has come not because of organization superimposed and reaching downward to control but rather as a result of interest from within resulting in the voluntary, coöperative, federation principle. It began by an attempt to follow the advice of the ancients when they cautioned, "Know Thyself." About nine years ago, the Boy's Work Committee of the Rotary Club of Madison sponsored a youth survey. All organizations, agencies, or groups working with or for youth of school age were invited to participate in conversations on the worth of such a survey. Such a group, fully representative, planned and carried out the study. All schools—public, private, and parochial—Catholic and Protestant churches, service clubs, Y.M.C.A.'s, settlement houses, Scouts, and recreation committees shared the duties involved. The findings of this survey, which was carried on through the schools, gave a picture of youth participation in the activities and of individuals. The association and professional coöperation resulting from the survey were not least among the profitable effects of the study.

A group of community leaders needs very little time, when once brought together by a common interest and enthusiasm, to see the need for continuation of united effort. To answer the obvious need for some permanent organization of effort, the survey group formed the Madison Social Planning Council. The purpose of this Council was not merely to bring professional service workers together but to provide a clearing house for ideas and plans of various organizations, to constitute a means for planning and action for the youth of Madison, and to lay the foundation for sane coordination of accepted activities. The resolution drawn up to provide for the

Planning Council reads as follows: "*Resolved*, That we, the representatives of the community organizations listed with our names, shall immediately organize as a Social Planning Council for the youth of Madison, New Jersey. The Social Planning Council is designed to be the agent of all the organizations for those studies and projects which these organizations may voluntarily wish to undertake as a whole or in groups, in order that each may extend its program, integrate its relations with other organizations doing similar work, and make its service to youth in Madison more effective, if possible." The organization is bound by no set of laws, has no constitution, receives no dues, and has only the necessary officers to provide for efficiency at meetings.

Quite obviously, much study was necessary to make an intelligent attack upon community problems through this newer approach. To facilitate such study, a seminar was organized at Drew University. This group was composed of community leaders who included schoolmen, priests, preachers, settlement-house directors, Y.M.C.A. secretaries, a professor of sociology, the dean of the School of Religious Education at the university, graduate students, and others. Under the leadership of the superintendent of schools, the seminar functioned as a graduate course and university credit was given. As pointed out by its leader in the April 1936 issue of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY*, the group concluded that the simple basis for operation of the Social Planning Council should be: (1) What are the needs? (2) How are these needs being met? (3) How can these needs best be met? The obvious effects of such a formula of action, when properly and successfully followed, are to substitute a consideration of common need in place of institutional-mindedness, to familiarize leaders with the present setup, and to evaluate programs for more efficient meeting of community and individual needs.

The Social Planning Council meets four times each year. At these meetings, the personnel is composed of two representatives from

each organization in the community. A consideration of problems is made, suggestions are received and discussed, and committees are appointed to carry out specific studies. The primary value of these meetings is to answer the challenge which was once inscribed on a public building in Rome—*Quo vadis*—Where are you going? Which way?

The actual work of the Council is carried on through committees which are designed fully to represent interest groups. A brief summary of the work of some of these committees and their effectiveness will suffice to outline the methods and techniques used.

The common cry that goes up when two or more organizations find their dates conflicting need not be described in detail. We have all heard, at such time, "Our communities are overorganized," "Too much is going on," etc.; and such conflict in dates very often results in conflict in sentiments of the organizations involved and frequently leads to open competition for attention and support. A survey of most communities will show that disorganization, not overorganization, is the malady. In an effort to bring some order out of chaos, the Community Calendar Committee was formed. This committee collects the calendars of all member organizations, compiles a chronology, points out conflicts to interested organizations, and aids in the replanning of activities where possible. The detail work of this committee is carried on in the office of the superintendent of schools and from this office the local newspaper is furnished with a column of "Coming Events." This committee has met with considerable success in its work.

In an effort to coordinate and facilitate existing health services in the community and to ascertain needs, a Public Health Council was formed. A specific effect of the work of this group was the integration of nursing services under the direction of a supervising committee. New nurses were required to be trained in public health in addition to the regular preparation. This was only a beginning, however, for the term "health" was interpreted broadly. The mem-

bership of the Health Council includes, at the present time, school physician, nurses, physical directors, representatives from the Board of Health, public-health officer, visiting teacher, elementary supervisor, representative of the parochial school, a member of the County Tuberculosis Association, teachers of science, social science, home economics, hygiene and health, and the supervising principal. Meetings are held monthly to hear and discuss the work of committees such as: (1) Safety Committee, which inspects public buildings, sponsors safety patrols, provides advertising material on safety for classes, etc.; (2) Sight Conservation Committee, which studies classroom lighting, decoration, types of printing in texts, etc. The recommendations of this group have resulted in the rewiring and re-decorating of an entire school building as well as in major changes in other buildings; (3) Nutrition Committee, whose duties are obvious; (4) Tuberculosis Committee, which has done extensive work in education about tuberculosis; has conducted a survey of children and teachers, using the Mantoux test; furnished, at cost, X-ray service for all testing positively; and supervised follow-up work with families needing further aid. Other committees functioning regularly in this setup are those on foot correction, immunization, curriculum, disease control, and dental needs. Madison has profited by the work of the Public Health Council!

The lack of coordination between the educational work of so-called character-building agencies and that of the schools has for long been an unfortunate characteristic of most communities. The fear of special-interest domination and the prejudices between various institutions have rendered ineffective much of their work. The Social Planning Council believed that the gap between the work of school and church, for example, could be bridged. Hence, the Religious Education Committee was formed by the interested parties for the purpose of attempting to deal with education as a whole life experience. This committee has conducted a religious weekday school and attempts to correlate the activities in this

school with those of the public-school curriculum. Organizations such as Hi-Y, Girl Reserves, and young people's groups have been encouraged to plan with the schools for correlated programs. The possibility of a coöperative community program of character development, coordinating the work of all institutions interested, is being examined.

There is an evident need for planning, in most communities, for recreation to meet the needs of a new age. The Recreation Committee of the Social Planning Council began its work by procuring sociological data concerning the recreational life of children, the desires of the children with reference to a possible modification of the existing programs, and the current overlapping of efforts of agencies then operating. Physical results of the work of this committee are evident in four new tennis courts, built with WPA labor on grounds owned by the Board of Education, a picnic and camping site, and the beginning of an adequate athletic field and playground. Overlapping of programs has been lessened and the means established for meeting the needs of neglected areas of activity and of individuals.

Because of the enormous influence of the motion pictures on youth, a separate Film Committee began to study the films and their relation to the local community. Education has been promoted to make possible an understanding of the problem from the viewpoints of producer, local exhibitor, and patron, and definite curriculum building in the schools has included such units of study. The Madison Film Committee was composed of fifteen prominent citizens. This group carried on a survey of the films in Madison and elsewhere and planned appropriate action. Through the efforts of this committee, neighboring communities developed similar film committees, and these combined to constitute an intercommunity committee which might coöperate with the theater owner serving these municipalities. A *Film Bulletin*, in which coming films are

announced and evaluated, has been regularly published by this joint committee.

The high-school principal is chairman of a Guidance Committee. Representatives from twelve community organizations cooperate to make higher education or employment more possible for students by virtue of the utilization of every means for proper guidance. Correlating its work with that done by the public schools, this group has compiled a list of citizens who represent a variety of businesses and professions. After interviewing these people and explaining the purposes of the project, the committee listed those willing and competent to cooperate. Cards were filled out giving information about these citizen counselors and filed in the office of the high-school principal. A high-school instructor, finding a student interested in a particular business or profession, may arrange for an interview between the adult selected and the student. Some such citizens have become interested and have personally aided with higher education or in procuring of occupation for worthy students. One young people's group in the community has this year invited such citizens to explain to them, on Sunday evenings, the qualifications needed and opportunities in various occupations. All such contacts are encouraged.

During the past few years the problem of *out-of-school and unemployed youth* has been acute. A committee was formed in 1934 to study the problem in Madison. All such youth were listed and in most cases interviewed to ascertain desires or plans. The desire for employment was immediately voiced. In an attempt to make possible contacts, an employment bureau was established. While some placements have been made by this committee, failure has been too common and the evident reason has been that many youths were unemployable, in the sense that they were not specifically prepared for a vocation. This fact led to an examination of the need for a vocational school in the county. At present, a survey is being con-

ducted and pressure is being directed to provide some such training for the youth of the county.

If social planning is to be intelligent, it must always keep to the front the problems of individuals. To meet the needs of special cases, a Community Case Study Conference was organized. Cooperating individuals included Protestant ministers, both colored and white, a Catholic priest, Y.M.C.A. secretary, settlement-house director, relief director, policeman, visiting teacher, high-school principal, elementary supervisor, professor of religious education at Drew University, superintendent of schools, child-hygiene nurses, a psychiatric social worker, the director of the North Jersey Mental Hygiene Clinic, and a representative of the Morris County Tuberculosis Association. Once each month, this group deals with the problems of maladjusted children, delinquent individuals, gangs, family maladjustment, health problems, sex problems, etc. All groups interested in any case are hereby given opportunity to plan an organized attack on any problem. The Social Planning Council is confident that this committee has furnished a more sane and satisfactory method of dealing with problem cases and it has no doubt decreased delinquency.

Just as community-mindedness is necessary for social planning, so education in community statistics is vital to any of the outlined projects. A distinct contribution was therefore made with the completion in 1934 of a Sociological Base Map of Madison. The work on this map was directed by the superintendent of schools for the purpose of providing a graphic picture of sociological data. The many uses to which such a map can be put are too numerous to mention. Suffice it to say here that it has aided in almost all planning studies subsequently directed by the Social Planning Council.

All planning within a community affects the youth of that community. The youth, therefore, should be given opportunity, through a council of their own or by projects encouraged by the Social Planning Council or some other agency, to voice themselves and to

make their contribution to the community. Such a Student Planning Group has been organized in the high school. These young men and women meet weekly with the superintendent and a social-studies teacher to consider what part they can play in the life of the community. Such an activity is an answer to the challenges recently made that our present community setups in America make parasites of youth, who do nothing and receive all—and many times that “all” is not what they might wisely desire. It is hoped, through such student participation in the affairs of the community, that students might be better trained to do the things they must do somehow when they have responsibility placed upon them.

The leaders who have been largely responsible for the growth of social planning and engineering in Madison do not presume to have conquered all problems of community organization. Rather do they feel that after about nine years, the foundations for such organization are beginning to show strength. Building is merely beginning.

Certain principles have been recognized as valuable in the development of effectual technique. If any success has come to Madison's efforts, it is due to the fact that these principles have been kept in mind:

- 1 No organization which develops out of stimulated interest within the institutions of the community is as apt to fail as one superimposed or encouraged from without. All those to be ultimately affected by a planning council should have a part in the formation of plans.

- 2 The choice of an initial set of problems upon which coöperation is to be developed should include issues of general and common interest, upon which there is relatively little opportunity for vital differences. Similar objectives of organizations and groups should be magnified.

- 3 A planning council should be an informal organization, without pretentious laws and constitution, if the feeling of voluntary support based on common purpose is to be maintained.

- 4 Every member of the council should be an active member—that is, he should have part in committee work based on his interests.

- 5 The value of patience, based upon a realization that social change

does not come overnight, cannot be overemphasized. "Institutionitis" is a malady which cannot be cured by quick, tradition-defying methods. Harmony can be best maintained at times by "making haste slowly."

6 A social-planning council can commit suicide by developing an esoteric attitude among its members. Perhaps one of the enemies to progress in community organization has been the tendency for every profession to develop such spirit among its own members. Social engineers cannot do this and succeed.

7. Youth should not be forgotten in the making of the plans for a community. They should have some part to play in the making of the community in which they will live.

These principles seem obvious to the point of triteness. An examination of projects in many communities, however, will show that they have not been learned. It may be possible, by the use of these and other common-sense principles, to develop a new conception of community life, a new definition for education which will include the activities of all agencies and activities within a community.

REGIONAL COORDINATION IN QUEENS COUNTY

ELEANOR S. TOWNS

Executive Secretary, Queensboro Council of Social Agencies

Queens, one of the five boroughs of New York City, presents a unique situation in community coordination. It is a city within a city. It has grown within a period of four decades from an almost rural area dotted with many small villages and towns to a metropolitan area of a million and a quarter population. It was the second fastest growing community in the United States during the period of 1920 to 1930. The construction of bridges, tunnels, subway lines, highways, and the development of a system of bus service have resulted in an exodus from crowded Manhattan to the borough. An increase of another million population within the next ten years is estimated. A real-estate boom is well under way, which has received impetus from the coming of the World's Fair in 1939. It is hard to imagine a more dynamic situation for the functioning of a community coordination project.

WHAT IS UNDERSTOOD BY COMMUNITY COORDINATION

In discussing community coordination in Queens, one is immediately faced with the question of "What is a community?" Actually all of the following in one way or another must be treated as a community unit—New York City with its 7,500,000 population, Queens Borough with its 1,250,000 people, the post-office districts, the school districts, the school areas, the so-called health areas, the assembly districts, the police precincts, and the neighborhoods centering around real-estate developments or former towns and villages.

We find two types of coordination. The first is the type where groups of organizations having a common interest work together,

as the United Parents Association and the Welfare Council of New York City. The latter organization coordinates the work of over seven hundred public and private welfare agencies of Greater New York. The other type of coordination is found in the Community Council of the City of New York, where small neighborhood groups are coordinated. In addition there are hundreds of community groups which have no coordination with any central group, but which have common interests with many central groups. The community coordination project in Queens has dealt with the various coordinating organizations, and with many community groups which are operating independently.

There has been close cooperation with the Welfare Council of New York City and efforts have been made to encourage the Welfare Council to study the problems of community coordination in Queens. Recently the Welfare Council developed a standing committee to study regional organization. Meetings have been held by this committee which brought together representatives of public departments developing neighborhood units such as the Juvenile Aid Bureau, the Health Department, School Centers, and also members of the Neighborhood Section. This movement on the part of the Welfare Council is very significant and encouraging as it brings to the new field of community coordination on a regional basis the experience, techniques, and philosophy of community coordination in a more specialized and intensive field.

Organization and Early Development of the Queens Project

This recent interest of the Welfare Council of New York City in regional planning and coordination gives new significance to the history of community coordination in Queens. Social-welfare work began with the organization of the Queensboro Council of Social Agencies in 1922 under the helpful leadership of Mr. Francis H. McLean of the organization whose name now is the Family Welfare Association of America. The local organizers were representa-

tives of the Big Sisters, Department of Public Welfare, Queensboro Tuberculosis and Health Association, and Probation Officers in the Magistrates Court. Its purpose was to develop on a community basis a sound social welfare program for the borough. Social workers and prominent socially minded citizens participated. Executives of local agencies did the work from their own offices without extra compensation. Meetings were held as situations arose demanding united action. During this first ten years the work of this group was a powerful influence in securing services for Queens which was growing rapidly and developing problems of a large community. The Family Welfare Society, the Nursing Services, the Queens General Hospital, the Crime Prevention Bureau, and the establishment of many other services has resulted at least in part from those early joint efforts of the community through the Council.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE ESTABLISHED AND PROGRAM ENLARGED

In 1932, stimulated rather than discouraged by the mounting problems evolving from the depression, the Council set up an administrative organization with volunteer and work-relief personnel. Office space in an apartment house was donated by the Council's president and later by the Medical Society of the County of Queens in their fine new building. The Council was most fortunate in having the volunteer services of many well-trained persons living in Queens. These included a specialist in the field of public relations, accountants, and staff members of several national organizations. The advisory services of members of the staff of the Welfare Council have been available and have been of inestimable value.

JOINT COMMUNITY EDUCATION

Another feature of the enlarged program was joint community education. It took the form of jointly sponsored courses and forums resulting in the formation of continuing subcommittees for action. The first effort centered around mental hygiene. Members of the

Council believed that Queens was lacking in facilities and organized interest. As a first step, a course called "The Mental Hygiene of Every Day Life" was sponsored by the Medical Society of the County of Queens, the Queensboro Teachers Association, and the Queensboro Council of Social Agencies. Twelve sessions were led by prominent authorities. About six hundred people, including teachers, nurses, social workers, doctors, parents, and business men attended. From the individuals whose interests were aroused was organized the Mental Hygiene Committee. The committee arranged a similar course during the following year, has gathered material to demonstrate the need for additional services, has attended hearings, arranged for educational newspaper releases, has furnished speakers on the subject, and often acts as a referral bureau for personal problems. The executive of the New York City Mental Hygiene Committee acts as a professional consultant. In conjunction with the committee, the Protestant Federation of Churches has conducted a conference of clergymen, psychiatrists, and psychologists. The committee holds an open meeting at least once a year which reviews progress made by individual organizations, and plans joint action for future programs such as a mental-hygiene clinic in the Queens General Hospital and additional units in the Bureau of Child Guidance. This committee localizes the work of the city-wide committee, stimulates local interest in the community, furnishes the means of cooperative action, and stands ready to act on long-range programs or immediate emergencies.

Public interest in depression problems led to a series of open forums on "Social Rehabilitation in Queens." Various prominent laymen were chairmen. Public officials served as speakers, in most cases. In some instances informal receptions were arranged preceding the forums so that agency staff members and the public might meet their public officials. These forums were sponsored by a large number of borough-wide organizations and were well reported by the press.

Because these forums seemed to deal in generalities, the following year the series was concerned with "What Queens Needs." The individual forums discussed Child Welfare, Health, Recreation for Young and Old, Education, Housing, and Adult Education. Each subject was studied by a panel composed of an expert in the field and local people familiar with the particular problem under discussion. Their findings were presented at the forums for discussion. One chairman presided during the series.

It may be said that involving the community in a study of "What Queens Needs" not only led directly to the realization of the need for coordination on a wider community basis, but, in addition, it led to the realization of the need for more thorough research in community problems and conditions, the establishment and use of a competent information service, and the application of the findings of community studies in coordinated long-range planning and in united action for immediate needs.

QUEENS COMMITTEE FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS ORGANIZED

As the vision of community coordination enlarged, questions were raised as to the adequacy of the Council of Social Agencies as the medium to coordinate groups which included professional and community groups outside of the specialized field of social welfare work. The joint educational courses had been sponsored by such groups as the Medical Society of the County of Queens, the Queensboro Teachers Association, the Queensboro Chamber of Commerce, the Queensboro Public Library, the Queens Branch of Community Councils, the Central Queens Division of the League of Women Voters, the Queensboro Bar Association, the Queens County Division of the Long Island Federation of Women's Clubs, as well as the Queensboro Council of Social Agencies. Other organizations were asking if they might not also be included. Members of the Council suggested that a separate coordinating unit for these other groups might be more effective and the Queens Committee for

Social Progress was organized. This committee, however, recognized the broad vision of the Council of Social Agencies and asked to remain affiliated with it. The Council was agreeable, and has shared the services of its executive secretary with the committee. This affiliation has existed for two years on an experimental basis. The following purposes, methods of functioning, and membership are under consideration:

Purposes

1. To coordinate resources and services, public and private, lay and professional
2. To disseminate information of value to all persons interested in welfare work within our borough
3. To facilitate cooperation in discovering and meeting community needs

Methods of Functioning

1. Through the maintenance of a central office
2. Through conducting forums, discussion groups, and committee meetings on problems of joint interest to the membership
3. Through providing speakers and developing programs on subjects of social interest
4. Through stimulating interest in social needs, programs, and plans for Queens
5. Through the issuing of a publication
6. Through the providing of machinery whereby citizens and groups may be active in the service of social welfare

Membership

1. Those interested in social progress in Queens who pay the membership fee (\$2.00, regular membership, \$5.00, contributing membership; \$10.00 or more, sponsoring membership); the memberships include a subscription to the publication, *Social Progress in Queens*
2. Those individuals designated by cooperating organizations which pay a \$5.00 regular fee, a \$10.00 contributing fee, or a sponsoring fee of \$25.00 and up; member cooperating agencies are invited to designate their lay member without further fee for that person being necessary; Queensboro Council agencies may assume contributing or other membership

The experience of the Queens Committee for Social Progress operating as an affiliated committee of the Queensboro Council of Social Agencies seems to indicate that a set-up which includes more than professional social welfare agencies brings about true community coordination. Organizational relationships remain to be worked out. At present the first vice-president of the Council is chairman of the Queens Committee for Social Progress, and there are numerous committees upon which members of the Council and Committee work together.

There are participating in the governing bodies individuals having the following connections: Bureau of Child Guidance, Board of Education; School of Education, New York University; New York State Employment Service; Henry Street Visiting Nurse Service; American Labor Party; Queens Federation of Churches; Bureau of Attendance, Board of Education, Catholic Charities, Boy Scouts of America, Queens Council; Family Welfare Society of Queens, Incorporated; National Council of Jewish Women; Queensboro Tuberculosis and Health Association; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Visiting Nurse Association; Medical Society of the County of Queens, Young Men's Christian Association; Jamaica Vocational High School; Medical Board of the Queens General Hospital; Weekly Newspaper Men's Association, Clergy; Emergency Relief Bureau.

ACTIVITIES OF THE QUEENS COMMITTEE FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS

The Queens Committee for Social Progress has found several fields for community action. In preparation for the World's Fair and the social problems that it will bring, close contacts have been formed with the World's Fair, Incorporated. The Committee is backing an active social-hygiene campaign, an adult-education program (through its committee which holds monthly conferences), and is interesting itself in certain phases of social planning such as

the financing of social welfare work. One of the newest and perhaps most interesting developments is that of a Youth Group which feels that it should have a more active participation in the community welfare movements. This Youth Group, being representative of the borough's organized and unorganized young men and women, is being sponsored by the Queens Committee for Social Progress. The inspiration for this movement came, the young people say, from one of the Committee's public forums, which they thought could have been improved upon. This is the spirit which the Queens Committee for Social Progress fosters.

Knowledge of the Community Coordination Movement in Queens has been spread both by the printed and by the spoken word. The Council's president for two years was the editor of a weekly newspaper and past president of the Weekly Newspaper Men's Association. The news services and Queens dailies have recognized the value of the movement and are counted among the Committee's best friends. The Metropolitan dailies have on numerous occasions included our news items. A third leaflet explaining the movement is about to be published. *Social Progress in Queens* is a small bulletin published from time to time which contains news of interesting progressive work of various community groups, notices of meetings, and reports on work being done by the Council and the Committee. There is, also, in each issue a signed article outlining "What Queens Needs" in some particular field. The Public Relations Committee has been particularly fortunate in having the advice and assistance of well-trained volunteers.

That communities desire to know more about community problems is reflected in the increasing number of requests from program, civic, and welfare chairmen. They wish assistance in planning organization programs for the year, and special programs. They desire speakers on special subjects and panel discussion groups. This last type of program seems to be growing in popularity. A recent example of such a program is "Training for Work and Leisure,

Cooperation Between Parents and Public and Private Organizations." The panel members included the executive secretary of the Committee, a staff member of the New York State Employment Service, a Y.M.C.A. man, a Girl Scout executive, a director of vocational guidance from the Board of Education, and a member of the Youth Group. The program was presented to a mothers' club which was most enthusiastic in its appreciation of the helpfulness given. It is felt that this method of assisting community groups to gain perspective is most valuable in developing community coordination.

ACTIVITIES OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND STAFF

One is tempted to dwell at length on the interesting aspects of the work of the focal point—the office and the duties of the executive secretary of the Council and Queens Committee for Social Progress, who is a volunteer. As an information service, calls come in from such diverse sources as a metropolitan tabloid, Chambers of Commerce, national welfare organizations, and citizens, both well-to-do and those on the verge of despair. To handle this work and to supervise the office routine work, the first paid employee was taken on in May 1936. It should be mentioned here that the ability of the office to do the work has depended upon the untiring devotion and understanding of the National Youth Administration and other work-project employees assigned to the office since its opening in 1932.

The executive secretary, in addition to the work attendant upon the various activities of the Council and the Committee described above, has served on such committees as that of the Coordinating Committee on Unemployment Relief of the Welfare Council, and directed the community aspects of the organization of the Medical Social Service department of the Queens General Hospital. Probably one of the most valuable functions of the executive secretary is the promotion, through close personal acquaintance, of better un-

derstanding and relationships between organizations and individuals, often with diverse views but with a common interest in the public welfare.

COMMENTS OF THE EXECUTIVE

An evaluation of the project cannot be made by one as closely associated as the executive secretary, but some personal convictions seek expression and may be acceptable:

1. Sound social progress depends not only upon specialization but upon integration, cooperation, and coordination
2. Community coordination must not be confused with propaganda or even education. It is a function by itself.
3. There is a need for scholars to collaborate with "practitioners" in order that sound philosophy, science, and techniques may be developed
4. There is a need for personnel with ability and training, able to resist the temptation to act as manipulators and content to act as "catalytic agents" who, by their presence, bring about coordinated action between two or more "elements."
5. There is need for community coordination organization, if community groups including taxpayers, established institutions, and administrators of social legislation are to work together on democratic principles to bring about social progress

GENERAL SUMMARY

The Queens Project in Community Coordination may be summarized as follows:

1. The project is functioning in an area of rapid change due to developments in transportation, housing, and increased social problems resultant from the depression and the rise in population
2. The project deals with many types of communities ranging from the small neighborhood group to the highly specialized and organized groups in the metropolitan area.
3. The project beginning in the Council of Social Agencies has developed to include the interest and cooperation of borough-wide organizations, not primarily interested in professional social welfare but interested in general social progress. These groups are coordinated through an

affiliated committee of the Council, the Queens Committee for Social Progress. Organization plans are not yet completed.

4. The activities of the project have included joint community education, development of an information service, exchange and encouragement of fact-finding studies, joint action to secure needed facilities, and social planning by laymen and professionals

5. The project has been made possible by the devoted volunteer service of many well-trained individuals, both lay and professional, in other organizations, and by exceptionally devoted work of relief employees. A paid office secretary is now employed to supplement their work.

6. The outstanding characteristic of the project has been the tenacious and persistent determination to have community coordination. This has surmounted many difficulties and has resulted in an increased program and increased participation of many types of community coordination groups.

7. The project finds its functions to be those of a liaison agent between many community coordinating groups.

REPORT OF PANEL ON PROBLEMS IN COMMUNITY COORDINATION

FRANCIS J. BROWN
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At a preliminary conference, the members of the panel¹ on Problems of Community Coordination tentatively agreed to discuss four basic problems:

1. Sponsorship—this was to have involved two aspects of the question: What organization or groups should best initiate community coordination? and, What agencies should assume major leadership in carrying forward the coordinated program?

2. Leadership training, involving three types of leaders: coordinators; lay leaders such as ministers, social workers, etc., trained in their own field but not familiar with community planning; and volunteers including parents, National Youth Administration workers, and others who have had little or no professional training.

3. The principal areas of service which should be included in a plan for community coordination.

4. Safeguards which should be set up to prevent coordinating councils from themselves becoming service agencies, competing with those already functioning in the community

After introducing the members of the panel, the chairman outlined the four questions for discussion. It was immediately apparent that the members of the panel were not themselves in agree-

¹ Kenneth Beam, National Probation Association, Leroy Bowman, United Parents' Association, Francis J. Brennan, Division Extension Activities, New York City, Board of Education, Ernest L. Chase, Central Planning Board, Elizabeth, N. J., Charles L. Chute, National Probation Association, Leonard Covello, Benjamin Franklin High School, East Harlem Council S. A.; Charles Cranford, Westchester Recreation Association, Winifred Fisher, New York Adult Education Council, Thomas W. Gosling, Washington Neighborhood Council, Washington, D. C., Benjamin B. Greenberg, New York City Board of Education, Alice S. Nutt, Delinquency Division, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C., James R. Rundell, Westchester Recreation Commission, Bertha Smith, Yonkers Coordinating Council; Frederic M. Thrasher, New York University School of Education, Eleanor Towns, Queensboro Council of Social Agencies, Harry W. Wann, Madison Service Council, Samuel Wittchell, Madison, N. J., Julius Yourman, Queensboro Council of Social Agencies, New York University School of Education, Francis J. Brown, New York University School of Education, *Chairman*

ment, and such differences consistently ran through the entire discussion.

The diversity of opinion was perhaps most pronounced in the analysis of the first question. Some felt that the school which serves "all the children of all the people" was the only logical organization, both to initiate such a plan and to assume major responsibility in carrying it forward. Their statement that the public school was the most universal service agency in the community and held the confidence of all, as its support was drawn from the entire area served, was answered by others who stated that the type of school described was rare indeed; that the great majority of schools held aloof from the community, often refused the use of its grounds, building, and equipment to adult groups, and considered its task completed when it had served the age group from 6 to 18 years of age during the hours of 9.00 a.m. to 4 00 p.m., and only five days a week. The difference between theory and actual practice in the majority of schools was sharply drawn.

Others felt that any one of several of the private agencies that have been consistently serving adult groups was the more logical agency than the school for initiating and carrying on the work. It was pointed out that some of them, such as the Community Chest, the Council of Social Agencies, and the Parents' Associations, have had many years experience in coordinated community planning, and in many instances have achieved genuine results. "Why all this sudden interest in community planning when it has been carried on, not in theory but in actual accomplishment for at least thirty years?" Certainly these organizations with their wide community contacts already established and their rich background of experience should continue to lead in any extension of community coordination.

Still others believed that such a council as was being discussed should be independent of any agency and, in so far as possible, individuals should be selected for the council independent of the

agencies or institutions with which they are connected. While of course the council should include individuals from as wide a group of agencies as possible, no individual should be chosen on the basis of representing that agency but rather because of his community-mindedness. It was pointed out that such a nonrepresentative council could more easily rise above institutional interests and view the entire community. It was emphasized that, in the carrying on of the preliminary survey of the work and the effectiveness of the many individual organizations, such a general council was essential to retain an unbiased and impersonal point of view.

Similar diversity of opinion was indicated in the discussion of the training of leaders. Some believed that formal courses are desired, while others, with equal vehemence, denounced the entrance of the college-course and credit idea into this field. It was pointed out that, for the small number of coordinators, definite training is necessary. Such training should include a rich background in sociology and psychology, a thorough knowledge of the techniques and statistics necessary for social research, and familiarity with the progress of coordination in many communities. While all agreed that some type of training was necessary for the other two groups: lay leaders trained in their own field but not in community planning, and volunteers, there was little unanimity of opinion as to the extent of such education or the best means of achieving it.

Many types of leadership training were discussed, such as forums, discussion groups, the public press, noncredit courses, and professional work through colleges and universities. Regardless of the agency, there was unanimity of opinion that existing techniques were inadequate and that new techniques must be developed; that the leadership must be kept close to the people lest plans outrun the consciousness of community needs, that lay leadership must also be developed to supplement the work of the specialist; and that the latter must have specific training, in order that he can gather data and interpret them. All felt that the best type of training in com-

munity coordination for other than the specialist came through actually doing the job, through meeting together to decide purposes and objectives, and to work out plans and programs.

Despite or perhaps because of the divergent points of view presented, there were positive results growing out of the panel. It was very apparent that there is no best plan of community coordination and that each community must evolve its own program, definitely fitting that program to the specific needs, interests, and organizations in the community. It was definitely felt that regardless of which agency takes the initiative, all existing agencies must be utilized to the greatest possible extent both in the initiation of the program and in conducting it. It is comparatively immaterial whether the individual members of the council definitely represent such agencies or are chosen because of their association with them, provided that all the individuals have a definite consciousness of community needs.

There is grave danger that the idea of community coordination will develop too rapidly to be successful. It must evolve slowly and only when the community is conscious of its need. The initiator should work quietly, avoid publicity, and through personal conferences develop the idea through as representative a group of the community as possible, each individual definitely accepting responsibility for the development of the idea of coordination.

An interesting illustration was presented at a meeting which the chairman recently attended. A group of some thirty-five people had met to determine the degree to which the community council might be developed. One of the members of the group turned to the temporary chairman and said, "I take it that what you are after—." The chairman immediately interrupted, "I am not after anything. It is what this group decides to do that is important."

Unfortunately, individuals and institutions willing to submerge self-interest or institutional glorification to community interests are rare indeed. As coordination develops, both individuals and agen-

cies must submerge themselves in the interests of the common good. Regardless of the origin, individual sponsorship should become decreasingly important as community consciousness lifts the work above that of any individual or agency. The specific procedure is largely dependent upon two factors: the purpose of the council and the location of leadership. In regard to the first, there is danger of setting up a single purpose and consequently a single area of service, such as delinquency or recreation, to the exclusion of all other areas. Often such a development may actually become competitive with the work of other agencies. The second cannot be predicted, as leadership must be found and trained. Again, it should be repeated that there is no best practice. Any plan must be *tailor-made rather than adopted from another community*.

One general conclusion grew out of the afternoon's discussion—that the success of community planning was dependent upon the degree to which all interested in this field are willing to denounce the “*either-or*” policy and recognize that all policies must be developed on a basis of supplementing the work of existing agencies. It is not a question of *either* council of social agencies *or* schools *or* Parent Teacher Associations, but of all of them working together. Leadership is not *either* specialist *or* lay, but *both*. Coördination is not dependent solely upon expert leadership from outside *or* leadership wholly from within the group but *both* are necessary. This fundamental change in the basic philosophy from *either-or* to *and* will to a large degree determine the success or failure of any type of community coördination.

Time did not permit a discussion of the other two proposed problems. Motions were made and unanimously carried that the conference be continued, that it be named the Northeast Regional Conference for Community Coördination, and that Dr. Yourman be requested to call the second conference some time during the school year 1937–1938.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

SWEET BRIAR STUDIES

A bulletin of Sweet Briar College published in May 1937 reports the results of four interesting research reports including the Lynchburg study of household employment, a report on some materials for a study of interracial relations, a study of the content of courses in sociology in secondary schools of eleven Southern States, and a report on the training of social workers in Virginia by a subcommittee of the Virginia Division of the American Association of University Women.

The study of the content of courses in sociology in the secondary schools of eleven Southern States is reported by Professor Belle Boon Beard of Sweet Briar College. It is the result of a survey made during 1936-1937 at the request of the Southern Sociological Society, carried on with the assistance of Miss Rebecca Young of Atlanta, Georgia, and Miss Elizabeth Scheuer of New York City, graduates of Sweet Briar. The study enlisted the cooperation of more than 300 school superintendents, supervisors, principals, and teachers. In addition to 500 high schools, the survey covers 89 municipal and county school systems and 182 private schools, academies, seminaries, military schools, and junior colleges.

While the results of the survey show that there is no one clear-cut trend in general, there was a tendency to integrate the entire curriculum around the social studies in such States as Virginia, Mississippi, and Arkansas; a tendency to expand the existing courses in American History, Contemporary Civilization, Civics, Citizenship, or Problems of Democracy to include social and economic problems; and a tendency to add one-half unit courses in sociology, usually in conjunction with a similar course in economics. In about ninety per cent of the schools the method of instruction was to follow textbooks chapter by chapter. The most

widely used book was Ross, *Civic Sociology*. Other books used were Hill and Tugwell, *Our Economic Society and Its Problems*, Smith, Davis, and McClure, *Government in the United States*, Hughes, *Problems of Democracy*, and Phillips and Newlon, *The New Social Civics*. The individual courses are characterized by a complete lack of uniformity. A possible explanation of the state of confusion and inconsistency in the courses is to be found not in the differences of objectives which they are supposed to accomplish, but differences in pupil interests, the experimental attitude on the part of the teacher, a lack of information about materials and techniques, and a fear of criticism from the community.

This lack of uniformity has created skepticism and antagonism toward sociology courses. In view of this fact Professor Beard makes the following recommendations with a view to establishing norms for high-school sociology courses.

1. That a committee be appointed by the Southern Sociological Society to work with the Curriculum Committee of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Some goals of this committee might be (a) agreement upon objectives to be attained by courses in Sociology, Social Problems, and Problems of Democracy; (b) lists of topics to be treated in these courses—a beginning would be a tentative list of "minimum essentials" and additional lists of optional topics; (c) a survey of textbooks and other teaching materials (the findings of the survey should be made available to all sociology teachers and curriculum makers); (d) the collection or development of comprehensive examinations and objective tests which can be used to measure achievement.

2. It is further recommended that college professors of sociology in each State (after being very certain that their own curricula offerings are not guilty of any of the above described inconsistencies) interest themselves in their secondary-school programs and in the changes taking place, and show by their willingness to initiate or attend curriculum conferences their eagerness to be of service in bringing about better coordination of their respective programs.

SOCIETY FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The Annual Institute of the Society for Social Research was held at the University of Chicago on Friday and Saturday, August 20 and 21.

At the opening session, which was held in Judson Court on Friday

morning, Clarence E. Glick, who has been teaching sociology at the University of Hawaii for several years, presented a paper on "Position and Status Among Honolulu Chinese." He was followed by Sam Daykin, sociologist-actuary of the Illinois Division of Pardons and Paroles, who spoke on "Parole Prediction and Practice." The afternoon session was given to a round table on social research in the Chicago region including the following papers. "The Distribution and Mobility of the Medical Profession in the Chicago Metropolitan Region," by Earl S. Johnson, University of Chicago; "The Distribution of Public Recreation Facilities in the City of Chicago," by Elizabeth Halsey, University of Iowa; "Occupational Structure," by Edward A. Shils, University of Chicago; and "The Role of Voluntary Associations in the Urban Community," by Herbert Goldhamer, University of Chicago. In the evening at eight o'clock a general meeting was held, which was addressed by Professor William F. Ogburn of the University of Chicago on the topic "The Role of Technology in the Modification of American Society."

The Saturday session began with a round table in the morning on the general subject, "New Techniques in Sociological Research," with Professor Herbert Blumer of the University of Chicago as chairman. Papers were given by Bernard D. Karpinos, University of Iowa, on "Differential Rates of Growth of the Population in the United States," and by E. T. Hiller, University of Illinois, on "Association between the Trends of Population and Trade Firms in Sample Regions of Illinois." The afternoon session was devoted to a round table on the subject "Research on the Isolated Community" under the chairmanship of Everett C. Hughes of McGill University. Papers were given by Helen McGill Hughes of McGill University on "A Sociological Study of a French-Canadian Community," and by Erdmann D. Beynon, University of Michigan, on "The Voodoo Cult as a Means of Adjustment Among Negro Migrants to Detroit."

The annual dinner of the Society was held at 6.30 on Saturday evening with Robert Redfield of the University of Chicago as chairman. The address on this occasion was by Talcott Parsons of Harvard University on the subject, "The Role of Sociological Theory in Sociological Research."¹

¹ Persons interested in joining the Society for Social Research may procure details by addressing Marshall B. Cloward, Society for Social Research, University of Chicago, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago, Illinois

IMPORTANT CONCLUSIONS FOR EDUCATION

A study of 116 Berkeley (California) problem children was completed recently at the University of Southern California to determine whether or not these problem children became delinquents in their later years. The study was made by Nathan Bodin and is reported in some detail in the November-December 1936 issue of the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*

The startling conclusion of this study is that 22.5 per cent of the 116 children were regarded as "problems" in the Berkeley public schools some eight years ago and had become delinquents and criminals. 50.6 per cent of this group had already commenced their delinquent careers in their preadolescent stage of growth. These findings confirm other studies, which point out that the problem child in school is the potential delinquent and that the delinquent is the potential criminal.

These findings very definitely focus the problem of character education so far as the schools are concerned

BOOK REVIEWS

Sweden: The Middle Way, by MARQUIS W. CHILDS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935, 171 pages.

At a time "old dealers" seek a speedy return to laissez-faire and communists cry for the overthrow of "archaic economic system," it is well to pause and ask "What is the Middle Way?"

The author does not attempt to answer for America or for any country other than Sweden. His references to other nations are but factual statements of business relations. Rather he describes and analyzes the middle way for Sweden—cooperatives and nationalization of industry under the Social Democrats. Step by step he traces its development from small individual societies, the formation in 1899 of the Coöperative Union, the hazardous expansion into production as well as distribution and consumption, and its growing power demonstrated in 1932 when it successfully broke the monopoly of the General Electric Company.

Today it has evolved an international character through unification of coöperative in the Scandinavian peninsula, and through exchange of commodities with cooperatives in other nations. They have entered into the production of basic commodities and have built homes and apartments at prices ranging from 25 to 75 per cent of former costs. The Social Democrats swept into power in 1932, established State monopolies, gained control of power systems, made provision for a pension system which will practically eliminate relief, decreased unemployment, and assured a living income both to urban and to rural families. The entire book is a factual presentation showing failures as well as successes, difficulties as well as accomplishments. Although in no sense is it propaganda as the term is usually used, it is in fact more effective propaganda for seeking the middle way through cooperatives and State control.

What Veblen Taught, by WESLEY C. MITCHELL, New York: Viking Press, 1936, 503 pages

Few writers have had greater influence in stimulating and molding thought on social and economic problems in America than Thorstein Veblen. He saw clearly the place of the machine in our industrial civilization and indicated it long before the technocrats were heard of. Because of the significance of the writings of Veblen we are indebted to the editor of this volume for his interpretation of Veblen's important works at this

time, when we are in need of clear thinking on the problems of our economic and social life.

The essential value of this book lies in the fact that the editor has brought into one volume Veblen's major contributions and has thus made them available for the teacher who is vitally concerned with the problems discussed and will find in them help and inspiration in the adequate performance of her task.

Alien Americans, by B. SCHRIEKE. New York: Viking Press, 1936, 208 pages.

The author of this book was invited to come to this country by the Julius Rosenwald Fund to make a study of Negro life and education, especially in the Southern States. He was invited because of his training and because of his experience with education and race relations in the Orient. The author's experience and equipment gave him a background and detachment from the problem of American minority cultures that made him an ideal selection for the task from one point of view, but from another it made the accomplishment particularly difficult. The author had to rely almost wholly upon printed sources for his material and since he chose to consider in this small volume five of our cultural minority groups he, per force, had to rely essentially upon secondary sources. The work is, therefore, superficial and adds no new material to the field. The book is well written, attractively printed, and for the adult reader without extensive educational background or familiarity with racial problems the book will be welcomed.

Freedom, Farewell, by PHYLLIS BENTLEY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 484 pages.

Historical yet more than history, biographical yet not a recording of isolated lives, the author has woven a thrilling novel of the characters laboriously studied in Roman history and studiously conned in Latin classes. Pompey, Cataline, Cicero, Caesar—the even more brutal and debauched games in the arena to buy the acclaim of the populace, subtle bickering for power from rabble and moneyed senators, and the culmination in dictatorship all pass before the reader in a closely woven web of political intrigue. Although at no time is reference made to the modern world, the reader inevitably draws analogies and sees parallels between this road of the dictators and the turbulent world of today

Baltic Countries (edited by Dr. Józef Borowik and published in January, May, and September, by the Baltic Institute, 11 Washington Street, Gdynia, Poland) is a periodical, now in its second year, dealing with the region practically unknown to the average American student—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland. A survey of its scholarly articles indicates that all aspects of social life are included, such as "Slavonic Studies in the United States," "The American Estonians," "The American Latvians," "Universities of Poland," "The Baltic as a Basis of Y. M. C. A. Cooperation," and others. The contributions come from almost every country of Europe and the United States. Special sections are devoted to book reviews and to various classified bibliographies. All in all we have here a periodical, which, contrary to the usual European practice, is printed in very good English and which must be highly recommended, both for the scope of its materials and for the manner in which they are presented. A word should be said of the exceptionally handsome format of the periodical. Paper and type combine to make a volume which is a pleasure to the sight and touch.

The Book of Festivals, by DOROTHY GLADYS SPICER. New York: The Womans Press, 1937, 429 pages.

The current movement in education to fit the school to the needs of the child may well take notice of this book which presents a picture of the festivals of all nations. The book will be especially helpful to teachers and others who have in their classes children of foreign-born parents or of foreign origin. It will help these teachers in planning their programs to enrich classroom and homeroom activities by introducing elements represented in the folk festivals of many peoples. In this way it will be possible for the teacher to bring the school experience of the child into the cultural world of the parents and thus help create a closer bond between school and home. It will also make possible the enrichment of the experience of various groups represented in the school by introducing them to the cultural heritages of peoples other than their own. In addition to the festivals of different peoples, the book includes the story of the calendar of various origins: the Armenian, the Chinese, the Gregorian, the Hindu, the Julian, and the Mohammedan calendars are all presented and will provide interesting subject matter for classroom discussion. The book is written in a clear and vigorous style and is packed with pertinent information.

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THE FILM AS AN AGENCY OF BRITISH-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING

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English Speaking Union of the British Empire, London, England

American films are the chief British source of interest and knowledge so far as the American people and their history, country, and life are concerned. Every night of the week tens of thousands of British men, women, and children are seeing American films, which constitute some eighty per cent of the total footage shown on the British screen.

There is no doubt that these American films, whatever their intrinsic quality, do arouse very great interest in the country which produces them. From an interest in American films has come an interest in American film and other popular magazines and in American film gossip in the British press. From it has come also an interest in some of the chief subjects treated in American films—the Wild West, the gangster-ridden city, pleasure-loving, divorce-seeking society—an interest which the popular press has now to feed. From it has come too an interest in, and the increasing use of, American slang.

Indeed the tempo of British life itself is being altered by the impact of the United States, an impact which would be far less powerful upon Britain were it not for the domination of the American

film over the British screen. British people are coming to acquire habits, good and bad, as well as ways of speech, under the influence of American films. They are beginning to demand new comforts, such as refrigeration and new foods, of which they have learned from seeing American films. Their willingness to accept new fashions in dress, architecture, decoration, and other things would be far less were it not that American films have accustomed them to what would otherwise seem harshly novel.

Hollywood should therefore be conscious of the fact that it exercises an influence not merely over the British view of America, but over the development of British life itself. If British people are today a hundred times more interested in at least some aspects of American life than they were a quarter of a century ago, Hollywood is entitled to take credit to itself for the improvement. If they have come to believe that in the United States every other family indulges in divorce; that young society people live habitually in an atmosphere of high-powered cars, lavish clothes, cocktails, and illicit love; that cattle rustling and even Indian trouble still reign in the lawless West; that one must dodge bullets on the streets of Chicago; that corruption reigns in public life, Hollywood must take the blame for this madman's view of America which is so much in vogue in the United Kingdom.

The British press, when rightly criticized for the inadequate and tendentious picture of the American scene which much of it paints, can and does reply that the American film is responsible. It has given the British people a distorted view of American life and a taste for frivolous or sensational American news, against which popular newspapers can make little headway. The press can never expect to exert as powerful an influence upon the public, so far as the United States is concerned, as the screen.

Even radio and education, the two great propaganda agencies in Britain which are not compelled to give the public what it thinks it wants, are powerless to correct the wrong impressions of the

United States which the British public has acquired as a result of seeing American films. They would find it difficult to do so, even if they could devote much time to the matter, and employed the best available techniques. They naturally find it impossible to do so as things are, for schools, universities, and other educational agencies in Great Britain make singularly little use of the new techniques which recent inventions have put at their disposal, of which techniques the talking film is at present much the most effective.

Only about one thousand British educational institutions are equipped with film projectors, of which only two hundred are for sound as well as vision. Even those few institutions that do make use of the film as an educational aid are far from having thought out its possibilities fully, or from having made it more than an incidental luxury, so far as their curriculum is concerned.

On the whole, British education today is proceeding along the same lines that it would have done had the radio and the talking film never been invented. Indeed the persistence of the lecture method would suggest that it was proceeding almost as if the printed book had never been invented. The fact that information is more easily absorbed and interest much more easily aroused if the eye and the ear are used together, as they are when the film is the medium of approach, than if the ear alone is used, as it is when radio or lectures are the medium of approach, or if the eye alone is used, as it is when the printed word is the chief medium of approach, is hardly appreciated.

This is the more surprising in that Britain has built up an enviable record of pioneering in the field of educational and documentary films—much more so than in the field of entertainment films. Personalities like Mary Field and Bruce Woolfe and companies like Gaumont British Instructional Films Limited, in the educational, and personalities like John Grierson and Paul Rotha, and companies like the Empire Marketing Board and Post Office Film

Units and the Strand Film Company, in the documentary field, have won much more respect for Britain among students of the cinema than any personalities or companies in purely commercial fields. In spite of this, however, educational and documentary film producers in Britain cannot expect much patronage from commercial film renters and exhibitors, from the state or from education. Each, therefore, is in a measure compelled to live a precarious, experimental existence. And the documentary producer is having to become more and more the handmaiden of advertising interests.

Of course all British film producers, commercial and otherwise, are inclined to blame many of their difficulties on American competition. They have been pressing during the present year for such a revision of the expiring quota-restriction act, which compels British renters and exhibitors to purchase at least a certain proportion of British films, as will ensure them at least a reasonable protected domestic market for their output. They also wish to prevent, by an insistence upon the expenditure of at least seventy-five thousand dollars per film ranking for quota, the production by American companies in Britain of what are called "quota quickies" (cheap, shoddy films hastily put together to satisfy quota requirements and thus enable the purchase of further films made normally in the United States).

But their further and fundamental purpose they find difficult to achieve. This is to secure for themselves a share of the American market, if not proportionate to the American share of the British market, at least proportionate to the British share of the total Anglo-American film output. For British producers rightly argue that the production of first-class films often, though not always, involves the expenditure of larger quantities of money than are justified if the film is to have a purely British sale. The thirty million dollars which American film producers earn in Britain every year is very often the vital element in their income which turns an unprofitable into a profitable venture.

The long feature film in Britain, which is not going to get an appreciable foreign sale, ought not, if it is to return a profit, to cost more than five hundred thousand dollars. It ought to cost this only if it is to be one of the outstanding pictures of the year, with unusual box-office appeal. The normal feature and the short film ought, if a decent profit is to be expected and if little foreign revenue is likely, to cost a very modest sum, indeed, compared with those habitually expended in Hollywood. Only if a regular Dominion and American sale is to be expected, can British producers afford to operate on the financial scale of Hollywood.

British producers are inclined to blame this lack of American market not so much on American legislation, which imposes no undue barriers on the importation of foreign films, nor on the American public, which seems to accept good British films gladly (though often without being conscious that they are British), but on the American producers and the cinema circuits which they control. It is, so British producers argue, almost impossible for the ordinary American exhibitor to book British films because of the financial control of the great American companies and their booking arrangements.

This is particularly the complaint of the producers of short films, including educational and documentary films. For American companies are very apt to throw their short films in with their long ones, as a sort of discount—just as they sometimes induce or compel exhibitors to take several mediocre features as the price of getting one super picture. Very few exhibitors have room for regular independent short films, British or otherwise. The *March of Time*, the newsreels, *Silly Symphony* or other short comedy have taken up all the time available, considering the length of the feature or features, even if American short films have not been thrown in by the company whose long film provides the current feature.

Americans might reply that, real though such obstacles to the entrance of British films into the United States may be, more real

still is the poor average quality of British films. Only occasionally does the British film industry turn out a super picture which can be trusted to fill American cinemas. And its average product lacks the speed, the technical efficiency, and other assets, which induce the regular movie-goer to put up with run-of-the-mill American films.

Moreover, as things are, it is often difficult for the American movie-goer to realize that he is seeing a British picture, even on the few occasions when such an opportunity is open to him. For not merely is the name of the American distributor rather than the British producer apt to catch his attention, but also there will seldom be anything distinctively British about the picture. If good it will be apt to be, to the casual film-goer, indistinguishable from a good American picture; it will have little more British flavor than such American productions as *Cavalcade*, *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer*, *Lloyds of London*, or *Little Lord Fauntleroy*. Indeed it is sometimes said, that while there is a British film industry, in the sense of an industry making films in Britain, there is not yet a British film industry in the sense of an industry distinctively British in personnel, spirit, and character.

So much cannot, however, be said of British educational and documentary films. This is a field in which Britain has been a pioneer and in which her films can, month by month, challenge comparison with those of any other country. It is solely because they are not known and because the market for this type of film, wherever made, is as yet very narrow, that British educational and documentary films are so little shown in the United States.

It is to be hoped that the efforts which are now being made by various bodies to bring about an international exchange of significant films will have the effect of making British educational and documentary films better known and in greater demand in the United States.¹ In any case, the negotiations ancillary to the revision

¹Paul Rotha's own visit this autumn, and the interesting program of British documentary films which he is bringing with him, should give Americans a better chance than they have yet had of appreciating the significance of British work in this new film field.

of the British Film Quota Act should serve to bring about a better exchange of films of all types between Great Britain and the United States. American producers justly fearful of too large and rapid a reduction in their share of the British market may be more inclined to aid, rather than obstruct, British producers who are attempting to secure an American outlet for their product.

But there is little that can be done by legislation, on either side of the Atlantic, and little that is likely to be done by commercial film interests to improve the quality of their output, from the point of view of its effect on international understanding. Nor can producers of entertainment films or government departments with a similarly commercial view of the film problem be expected to do much for the nonentertainment film, whether educational or documentary. If Britain and the United States are not to have merely a more equal exchange of films as between one another, but are to exchange non-entertainment as well as entertainment films, and to exchange films which do more to foster understanding and less to create a distorted picture of one country in the other, some groups, other than the existing commercial companies and government committees, will have to concern themselves with the problem.

It is gratifying to note that signs of such activity are already apparent. The American National Committee which collaborates with the League of Nations Institute of Intellectual Co-operation last summer made available for showing in Paris a most interesting series of documentary and educational films made by American Government departments, industries, and educational bodies. The English Speaking Union of the British Empire and the British Film Institute (a semiofficial body, with definite cultural purposes and responsibilities in connection with the cinema) are hoping to arrange together some showings of these American films in Britain in the autumn. Both bodies are also interested in the possibility of facilitating exchanges of the increasingly valuable films being made by amateurs in each English-speaking country.

It is especially important that there should be parallel interest in the educational and international significance of films on both sides of the Atlantic, since the possibility of increasing the number, and improving the quality, of educational and documentary films in either country is largely dependent on a greater increase in the demand for such films than either country is by itself likely to produce—the number of educational institutions equipped with talking-film apparatus being what they are. An educational film, for example, which takes some fifteen minutes to show and which normally rents for about one dollar and fifty cents per showing to interested schools, needs about four thousand bookings to show a profit to the producing company. No British educational film, even allowing for a limited number of commercial bookings, in the few cases where it is suitable for use as a supporting short in an ordinary program, can expect to secure in Britain, within a reasonable space of time, this number of bookings. The same thing is true of non-commercial documentary films. On the other hand, if the good British or American educational or documentary film could expect widespread booking by schools, colleges, and other noncommercial bodies in every English-speaking country, the situation would be very different. At once a small but sufficient market for nonentertainment films would appear and the producers on both sides of the Atlantic could be trusted to cultivate it.

If the English-speaking countries were jointly to develop these nonentertainment films, and were, by providing one large market, to turn what are at present speculative or losing ventures into profitable ones, they would be taking advantage of a great opportunity. The fact that there are in the world 250 million people speaking English is in itself a great asset which the British, Dominion, and American writer, publisher, dramatist, or film producer possesses, and which his German, French, and other foreign competitors lack. Anything in English possesses by that very fact alone the possibility of wider circulation than anything in any other language. The pos-

session of that common language offers the United Kingdom, the United States, and the British Dominions an unusual opportunity for pioneering in various fields, the English-speaking world being large enough to maintain profitably many ventures which smaller linguistic groups would find unprofitable. It offers them an opportunity of exchanging personnel and product with extraordinary ease. In no direction is this opportunity greater than in that of the cinema.

If British and American boys and girls could have acquired at school and college a taste for intelligent films, and an interest in, and reasonably accurate knowledge of, the other English-speaking countries, the taste of the ordinary cinema-goer would gradually change. Educational and documentary films would more often be tolerated, and even demanded, by audiences at commercial cinemas. Films giving a distorted picture of life, domestic or foreign, would be less tolerantly received. Movie fans might begin to be discriminating and might use their sovereign powers, expressed through the box office, not merely to raise to stardom and then to dethrone the leading ladies and men of the film world, but to encourage good films and to discourage bad.

The importance of thus raising the level of film taste as the only effective means of raising permanently the level of film output is already widely recognized on social grounds. It is, however, not often recognized how internationally important films are. Nor is it fully realized that the film, as the most powerful current propaganda medium, to some extent sets the level for the press and even, in some countries, the radio. These vital facts cannot, however, be overlooked by British people who are conscious of the vast influence of American films upon their view of America and upon their life as a whole.

INTEREST OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN MOTION PICTURES IN RELATION TO CHILD WELFARE

RUTH BLOODGOOD

Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

Since 1925 the subject of motion pictures as they relate to the welfare of children and young people has been an interest and a research activity of the Child Welfare Committee of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, now the Advisory Committee on Social Questions, of the League of Nations.

The original recommendation to include the subject of motion pictures on its agenda, as submitted by the Committee and approved by the Council of the League in 1925, reads as follows:

The Committee appreciates the importance of the question of the effect of the cinematograph on the mental and moral well-being of children, as to which it has received evidence from the Italian delegate. It proposes to place this subject on its agenda for discussion next session; and it would be glad if the Secretariat would collect such information as is available, including the steps taken in different countries to exercise supervision over the character of the pictures shown to children.

In conformity with this recommendation, the Committee has studied the subject of motion pictures as a source of recreation for young people, and has cooperated, through a liaison member, with the International Educational Cinematograph Institute in Rome.

The information gathered by the Committee has been obtained largely through questionnaire inquiries to all members of the Advisory Committee and to nonmember states. Mr. Harris, senior delegate to the Committee from the United Kingdom, serves as *rapporteur* for the Committee on the subject of motion pictures in relation to child welfare. He is responsible for the analysis of the material sent in and for making reports to the Committee.

The first inquiry, circulated in 1925, asked that the various governments inform the Secretariat of the League whether any steps had been taken in their countries to exercise supervision of the character of pictures shown to children, and, if so, that they send to the League texts of the laws, decrees, and executive regulations in force. Since this earlier inquiry, the scope of study has been broadened, and in 1934 a questionnaire was addressed to the various governments asking the following questions:

1. At what age are children and young persons admitted to ordinary cinemas?

2. If children and young persons are admitted to ordinary cinemas without restriction, what steps are taken to prevent them from seeing unsuitable films?

3. Have any inquiries been made in your country as to how often children and young persons attend cinemas and as to the general effect of the performances on their mentality and conduct?

4. Have any steps been taken to provide cinema performances, especially (a) for children and young persons, or (b) for the family? If so, please give particulars as to how they are organized and financed, how the films are selected, and what results have been obtained. Examples of typical programs should be given.

5. Have any inquiries been made in your country as to the type of films which appeal especially to children and young persons? If so, please summarize results of any such inquiries.

6. Have any steps been taken in your country by public authorities or by the trade, or otherwise, to provide films (other than purely educational films) which are especially suitable for children and young persons? Has any use been made of a large store of children's classics, including fairy stories, animal stories, tales of school life, etc? If so, please give examples. Have you any suggestion to make as to the way in which the production of such films could be encouraged?

The report of the Committee at its meeting in April 1937 stated that up to that time replies to the questionnaire of 1934 and to the request for supplementary information sent out in 1935 had been received from 42 countries. In addition to the information furnished

by governments, interesting and valuable data have been contributed by several international organizations, such as the International Council of Women and the World Young Women's Christian Association.

A summary of the replies received from the various governments was presented at the meeting of the Committee in April 1937. The following points were listed as those which were found to be emphasized throughout these replies:¹

- 1 There is not sufficient general control over the admission of children and young persons to ordinary cinemas, so as to prevent them from seeing unsuitable films. The reports show that this question is being taken in hand in the majority of countries, and by different methods employed by governments or societies children and young persons are to a certain extent being kept away from films that might be harmful to their mentality.

2. As regards the provision of special performances for children, the small output of films suitable for this purpose, and the consequent difficulty in obtaining them in the different countries, should again be emphasized. This is perhaps one of the biggest problems in connection with the whole subject of children and cinemas.

The unanimity of opinion and the various suggestions put forward show that countries are aware of this problem and are attempting to grapple with it. The suggestions on this point may be divided into two groups: (a) international collaboration, which may establish a profitable market for such films; (b) state aid; *i.e.*, government grants for the production of such pictures and control over their exhibition.

3. The types of films which appeal to children and young persons. Here the reports show that, as a general rule, the films that appeal to children up to the age of 14 are different from those that appeal to young persons between the ages of 14 and 18. Several factors have here to be taken into consideration, such as education, upbringing, temperament, etc., and therefore unanimity can hardly be expected on this point in the various countries. But the reports show a certain measure of agreement on one or two classes of film which have a really general appeal.

¹ League of Nations, Advisory Committee on Social Questions. Report on the Work of the Committee in 1937 (First Session), p. 20. Official No. C 235 M 169, 1937. IV. Publication No. 1937 IV, 5.

In 1936 the Committee invited experts on the recreational aspects of motion pictures in relation to young people to attend and take part in the discussion. Mr. A. C. Cameron, former director of education for Oxford, attended as representative of the British Film Institute, Mr. Edgar Dale, associate professor of educational research, Ohio State University, officially represented the Payne Foundation of New York City. Mr. Cameron reported briefly to the Committee on a study conducted by the British Film Institute of the cinema preferences of 2,500 school children. He also described the British censorship system, the steps taken to raise the standards in regard to historical accuracy of films, and the methods taken to assist in choosing suitable films for special children's programs. Mr. Dale summarized briefly some of the findings of the extensive studies made under the Payne Foundation, and emphasized, among other points, the need for teaching children to discriminate in their choice of motion pictures. He spoke of the spread of such teaching in the United States through the informal introduction of the subject in many high-school classes, and stated that seven States had given official approval to the inclusion of the subject in their schedule of studies. During the general discussions at the 1936 meeting, attention was drawn to the unfortunate distortion of historical facts found in many films, the bad effects on children of films of a terrifying nature, and the importance of developing in children sound standards of appreciation of motion pictures.

The member of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions from the United States, the Chief of the Children's Bureau, has furnished material to the League on State laws and municipal ordinances relating to censorship and the age of admission of children to motion-picture theaters. The Bureau has also furnished information that has come to its attention about State and community projects that deal with the admission of children to motion-picture theaters, special performances for children, and the development of public demand for good films.

CIVIC EDUCATION AND THE MOTION PICTURE

THOMAS BAIRD

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Progress in education for citizenship is slow. Many teachers are talking about possibilities. Here and there a few enthusiasts are bringing the newspaper into the school. Some organize visits to factories. Some conduct school journeys. All these are attempts to get to grips with the living stuff of citizenship. They are all omens of a new approach. Too often civics teaching has employed a formal treatment which results in a forcing of the living issues into a framework of abstraction. Law is considered in a textbook fashion, historically and academically. Democracy is conceived in the abstract terms of a constitution or in the formalities of legal procedure.

The newspaper, the visit to the factory, and the school journey are all methods to enliven what is in reality not a study at all, but the very stuff of living. Each of these methods has its own advantages. The newspaper organizes life for us. It acts as an intermediary observer. It filters the news and presents a residue of relevancy for us. Yet, even when we make a discount and realize that there are different filters and consequently different qualities of residue, even when we have learned to evaluate the different presentations, we are still very far from a real experience of the world. The school visit attempts to give a *real* experience and to develop an interest in *local* affairs. When we realize that we spend most of our lives within almost parochial limits, this type of experience seems quite pertinent. The school journey seeks to supplement this by giving an experience beyond the world of our daily life; it gives perspective and proportion.

But both the visit and the journey have serious drawbacks. In both we must accept the material of study as it comes along. The experience is presented fortuitously; it is not an organized experience. It is seldom possible to ensure a unity of perception. The

contact with life is here, but there is no filtering process—the relevant and the irrelevant are inconsequently mixed. The teaching of citizenship demands the economy of organized access to reality; it demands an instrument that will organize our observation of reality. Film in some measure conforms to this demand.

A new approach to civic education is being provided by the documentary film. It reports the real world as an organized observation. In an important sense it brings the stuff of our own lives into the school. It brings the material of civic education to the teacher.

Documentary films in Britain come from three main sources: (1) the Empire Marketing Board—General Post Office Film Unit, (2) Gaumont British Instructional Limited, and (3) industry and commerce (e.g., Shell-Mex Limited and the British Commercial Gas Association).

1. The Grierson school of documentary film producers carried out their first experiments under the aegis of the Empire Marketing Board. They were a group of young men and women drawn from the fields of social science, psychology, art, journalism, and education. They had a definite objective. It was to bring some of the power of the cinema, which Hollywood and Elstree were expending on a mythical world of sugary romance, to bear on the real world of everyday work in the Empire. They saw in the cinema an accommodating eye with which to observe the real world; they saw in the cutting process the possibility of synthesizing individual observations into a pattern; they saw in film a dramatic form in which common events could be treated dramatically and imaginatively and thus be brought alive with all the romance we usually associate with the Ruritanian worlds of the Saturday matinee.

In a world of vacillating wills, they sought to provide fact and reality around which our teachers might train the sentiments and loyalties of a new generation. They made *Drifters*, the story of the herring industry; *Industrial Britain*, the story of craftsmanship in the world of steel; *Oe'r Hill and Dale*, the story of a Border shep-

herd; *Upstream*, the story of the Scottish salmon fishers; *Granton Trawler*, the story of trawl fishing; *Song of Ceylon*, a poetic description of the life of the Singhalese. In a word they presented the schools with an exciting picture of the world at work such as it had never been the good fortune of the schoolmaster to possess before.

At first the schoolmasters, seeing the films merely as material to reinforce their teaching, used them as illustrations added to the curriculum they were already teaching. It was suggested that the films might be used for an even more important purpose. Teachers were after all teaching geography very well indeed without film; but were they teaching civics equally well? The schoolmasters admitted only too willingly that civics, unless reduced to a textbook form of analyses of parliamentary and legal procedures or treated as an outgrowth of political history, was their most difficult subject. They had no technique; they had no textbook. Training colleges offered no training in the teaching of civics; so even the most up-to-date teachers were at a loss when attempting to treat the subject in any but an incidental fashion. They accepted the documentary film as the basis for a classroom discussion of the living issues.

After 1933, the Empire Marketing Board Film Unit became the General Post Office Film Unit and transferred its activities from the Empire field to the dramatization of the system of communications and to the interpretation of the post office as a public service. This brought material even nearer our daily life under the eye of the camera. From describing the life of the other half of the world, attention became focused on the hidden half of our own lives. The value of the film as an aid to the teaching of civics was even more stressed and the G.P.O. films shown to some millions of school children each year have been the means of introducing the discussion of community life into many classrooms. At the G.P.O., the unit has made *Weather Forecast*, a dramatic document of the public service in terms of weather forecasting; *Coming of the Dial*, revealing the beauty of high-precision machinery; *B.B.C., the Voice of Britain*, a survey of the British Broadcasting Company and its

service to Britain; *Night Mail*, a cross section of England and Scotland along the line of special postal train; *We Live in Two Worlds*, a discussion of the conflict of nationalism and internationalism in terms of the systems of communications. For the first time the school was able to enjoy a dramatic presentation of these problems.

Here was a new adventure in education in the discussion of the contemporary world as a living fact and not as an abstraction in a textbook.

2. At first sight Gaumont British Instructional seemed to be devoting its energies to the different problem of supplying material to supplement the regular teaching of the classroom. It spoke in terms of curriculum subjects and of illustration. There were geography films, biology films, nature-study films, history films, literature films, and physical-education films. It seemed like an alignment with the existing objectives of education. A closer inspection of the schools in Britain showed, however, that biology was seldom taught, that nature study was taught in spare moments by enthusiastic teachers not specially equipped by training or with facilities, that physical education was badly taught for the same reasons, and that history as the films recounted it was not the usual history of the *Burnt Cakes* and the *Successful Spider*.

Gaumont British Instructional met the same criticism as the G.P.O. The teachers wanted films which would line up with the lessons they were already teaching. They had yet to discover the new objective possible through films. Biology was not in the curriculum in Britain; therefore they had no use for a film on biology. They had yet to realize that biology ought to have been in the curriculum and that the schools were actually behind the film makers. They had to realize that biology was perhaps more important than the binomial theorem and that the film was their chance in the face of an already full curriculum to do a little biology even at second hand. They had to discover that Dr. Julian Huxley's film *The Earthworm* taught more about biology and the scientific approach than it did about the anatomy of the worm. They failed to realize

that this was the kind of perspective which the children were crying out for, and which the very full curriculum was failing to give.

3. The third batch of British films significant to educators has come through the offices of industrial firms. These have mainly followed the lead of the G.P.O. Film Unit in so far as they attempt to show the industries in their civic reference. Petrol has been shown in the public-service reference of aviation; gas has been shown as the foundation of a great industry in which many men mix their labor; electricity has been shown as a link in the campaign toward a cleaner world. Aviation, work, and a healthier life are topical problems and should be in the discussions of every progressive school. How to discuss them has been the difficulty. Films open the way.

Education has a right to an account of the stewardship of the public services and the public utilities. If the industries were not willingly supplying it, the educators should be demanding it of them. They ought to be beating at the doors of the bakeries for the story of bread, at the doors of the thread mills for the story of cotton, at the gates of the yards for the story of shipbuilding. Our children go out from school to a world of gas companies, electric combines, butchers, bakers, automobiles, ships, and shoes. We expect the bakers and the electricians, the gas companies, and the thread mills to employ them. More than that, the new citizens are expected to take an intelligent interest in their work and to be well informed about their place in the community as workers of all kinds. They have, therefore, a right to every aid which can help give them their bearings in this brave new world. The documentary films offer a new objective to an education which has been too much taken up with every world except that of our daily work and every time except our own.

Capable, intelligent citizenship, civics which gave us our bearings in a complex, difficult world, is the new objective of education. Film is its operating instrument.

In the field of citizenship we daily delegate our authority and reserve our wills. This is the theory of democracy. We delegate many of our functions as citizens to the expert, the civil servant, the local government officer, the policeman, the fireman, and so on, but we reserve our wills as expressed in the idea of civil liberties. We retain the right to judge the judgment of the expert—hence the election system. But in a complex society, such as that in which we live, how is it possible for the layman to judge the expert's judgment? How, in other words, is it possible for the layman to delegate his authority without also delegating his will? This is the problem that threatens democracy to its very foundations. If democracy is to survive, citizens must have some basis on which to judge the findings of the expert. The old liberal theory demanded of every one sufficient *knowledge* to make the judgment. In the last analysis this meant that an educated citizen was one who knew all things. This is plainly an impractical plan in a world where knowledge outstrips our capacity to know.

This becomes a major problem of education. Modern education, if it is to be modern, must devise some means to realize the objective of giving men their bearings in a world where purely intellectual knowledge is no longer sufficient. Education must give us the bases of judgment on the problems of citizenship which are not based on the unachievable aim of knowing all the facts. Education must provide a service of information which organizes and makes intelligible the findings of the expert.

Education must, therefore, (1) develop skills by practice, (2) train critical judgment by theory, (3) cultivate sentiments about the skills and judgments, and (4) extend the horizon of this system of sentiments to relate as much of our life as is possible.

To this latter aim the service of intelligible information must be directed. We have discussed how films with their dramatic values and reporting powers can be directed to function as part of this service. We saw that their ability to appeal to the imagination was

their peculiar value—it is the imagination that creates the sentiments.

Our complex urbanism demands the civically sound judgment when it cannot demand the expert one. The civic judgment is not an expert one but a critical one deriving from an intelligible presentation of the expert one. The cultivation of the sentiments is on an apprehensive rather than a comprehensive level. The public will can be directed only on this basis. Education, by an appeal to the imagination, can develop social sentiments around the daily process of living.

It is not necessarily the business of the expert to interpret his own work. This task is one for the new breed of educator we are demanding. For that we need a combination of the artist with his power of appeal to the imagination and the teacher with his didactic powers.

In this task the schools require the help of all the interpreting agencies. They must enlist the radio companies and see that they devote some of their time to this business of articulating the social process at its growing points. They must demand a more local emphasis for broadcasting; they must demand dramatization and comment on the significant events and processes of the contemporary world and as they occur in our own communities. The schools must demand of the Government departments films dealing with agriculture, labor, transport, trade, health, and housing. Local authorities must come forward with an account of their stewardship in films of local affairs, on the gas departments, on the fire departments, on electricity, water, and police and all the hundred and one activities supported by public money. Industries—steel, timber, oil, automobiles, and the thousand others which comprise the world that is waiting for the children now in school—must be coaxed to tell their stories.

These are the demands which the school must make if its new education is to achieve its objective in creating intelligent, operative, civically minded citizens.

EDUCATIONAL POSSIBILITIES OF MOTION PICTURES

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Today brings occasion to announce a coördinated effort of several influential agencies and the motion-picture industry itself for bringing the screen to the service of education in terms of exceptional promise.

The motion picture which until now has been almost exclusively devoted to the industry of entertainment is in fact a machine tool for the art of expression, capable of service in the saying of whatever men have to say. Its functions are parallel to, but greater in potential scope than, the printing press which has these several centuries been the chief mechanical servant of education.

The concept of "living pictures" to communicate facts and convey emotions from one mind to another without the clumsy interposition of the difficulties of language and limitations of words has been in the minds of men for centuries. The motion picture as a method of recreating events was anticipated as long ago as the middle of the seventeenth century.

The motion picture as a demonstrated fact and in direct continuity by traceable steps to today's institution of the screen began April 14, 1894, when a peep-show parlor at 1155 Broadway in New York invited the world to come in and see Edison's kinetoscope. It was a device completed in 1888, a full year before it was made practical by the arrival of George Eastman's film *For Roller Photography* in September of 1889.

It was Mr. Edison's concept in all of his inventions that there was useful work to be done in the world and he was only slightly interested in anything that was not in the larger sense practical. He set to work on the motion picture to "do for the eye" what his phono-

¹ An address delivered before the National Education Association Convention at Detroit, July 1, 1937. Printed with the permission of the National Education Association.

graph has done for the ear. It was ever his idea that it should be a machine of service and he was not thinking of entertainment which incidentally came to be the first and even yet today most important utilization of the motion-picture mechanism.

It was about 1914 in a discussion with Terry Ramsaye that Mr. Edison, making comment on *The Birth of a Nation* and the glowing scope of the industry, remarked: "It is a big business now—it will be bigger yet. But away ahead is real work in education. That is the big ocean of opportunity. Educators are all book-minded now, but they will find the motion picture in time."

When the phenomenal changes that the motion picture has brought about in the field of entertainment are compared with the limited use that it has had in connection with education, it looks as though Mr. Edison missed his guess. Up to the year 1936, not less than 50,000 full-length theatrical films had been produced. It is estimated that there are three times that many "shorts" and newsreels. The total number of so-called educational or instructional films produced to date does not exceed 10,000.

During the year 1936, the Hollywood companies produced (in round numbers) 2,500 films of which about 500 were feature pictures, some 1,500 were short subjects, and about 500 were newsreels. During that same year probably not more than two or three hundred educational films were produced in the United States. Today there are approximately 18,000 motion-picture theaters in America with an estimated average daily attendance of over 10,000,000; at the same time there are approximately 100,000 schoolhouses in America which have electric current of which not more than 10,000 are equipped with motion-picture projectors. Less than 1,000 of these projectors are sound machines of which not more than six or seven hundred are 16 mm. This is important because of the fact that the 16 mm. sound projector is rapidly becoming the standard modern instrument for classroom instruction. According to a recent report on "The Motion Picture in Education," prepared and pub-

lished by the American Council on Education, there are approximately 16,000,000 school children attending 82,000 schools which are known to be equipped with electricity. These 16,000,000 pupils are served by 10,000 projectors, many of which are obsolete, and about 10,000 films, the educational value of which is unknown.

Many reasons have been advanced to explain the tremendous gap between the development of the motion picture for the theater and the extent of its use in education. While it is true that in the past five years educational developments have been more rapid and we now stand on the threshold of even more significant advances, it is nevertheless perfectly plain that the schools are far behind the theater in the use of motion pictures.

One of the most obvious reasons for this situation is the fact that theaters are run for profit while the schools are not. A second reason is that schools are conservative. They are slow to buy expensive equipment which they feel is not indispensable to their work. Even though numerous experiments have demonstrated the superior merits and teaching values of motion pictures, yet these experiments have not convinced the educational world of their absolute necessity for carrying on the work of the schools. The film is still regarded as a luxury and not a necessity.

A third reason why the schools have failed to keep pace with the theater in the use of films is lack of teachers who are trained to use them effectively. In the theater the film needs no teacher, but in the classroom the teacher is indispensable. It has been said that a poor film in the hands of a good teacher can be made more effective educationally than a good film in the hands of a poor teacher. The need for better opportunities for teachers to get the necessary training in the use of films is becoming increasingly apparent. The report of the American Council on Education referred to above says, "Of the 1,200 teacher-training institutions in the United States, only a few more than 100 provide definite training in the selection and use of motion pictures and allied teaching aids."

In order to meet this need, efforts are being made by the American Council on Education and other agencies to promote the better training of teachers in the educational uses of films through extension courses, summer courses, and teachers' institutes. It is interesting to note in this connection how the history of teacher training tends to repeat itself. The first teacher training that was done on a large scale in America was in the old-fashioned teachers' institutes. Some of these institutes grew into normal schools, and some of the normal schools have developed into teachers' colleges. The establishment of a series of institutes for the training of teachers in the use of films would go a long way toward meeting the current need.

A fourth reason why schools have been slow to make more use of the motion picture is the lack of a reservoir of films that have been properly evaluated and coordinated. Of the 10,000 existing educational films, fully 8,000 or more are "industrials" made for advertising purposes. Of the remaining 2,000 that were made for classroom use many are appropriate only for colleges or technical schools leaving not many more than 1,000 to 1,500 that are relevant to the curricula of the public elementary and secondary schools. This is not all. Not less than 500 agencies are engaged in the distribution of the 10,000 so-called educational films. Among these agencies there is little or no coördination. In the final analysis the number of instructional films that are now available for schools and distributed nationally by agencies that have an adequate supply of prints is very limited indeed.

The schools of today, in respect to the uses of motion pictures, seem to be circumscribed by a vicious circle. The school authorities feel that they are not justified in equipping their schools with modern projection machines, or in training their teachers in the use of films, until such a time as there is available an adequate supply of educationally useful films. The large producers of films, on the other hand, who are financially and otherwise equipped to supply the schools with a constant stream of films that combine the best

educational brains with technical competence are not willing to enter wholesale production until more schools are equipped to use such products. Some way to overcome this circle and convert it into an ascending spiral must be found.

I wish to announce today some recent developments in connection with the motion-picture industry which promise a solution to this problem. For many years educators who have attended motion-picture theaters have been impressed with the fact that many of the films shown there have great potential educational values. When *David Copperfield* was being shown in the theaters, high-school teachers the country over found it a great aid in stimulating interest in the reading not only of this great novel by Dickens, but of other classics as well. After the picture had had its run and was no longer available in motion-picture theaters, school teachers began to inquire whether or not a school edition of this picture and of other great classics might not be made available. *Copperfield*, of course, is only one of a number that have educational significance. For example, one might mention such pictures as *Cavalcade*, *Sequoia*, *The Covered Wagon*, *Little Women*, and *The Life of Louis Pasteur*. Among the short subjects also, especially the travelogues, educators have seen film material of great potential value. Every one has been waiting and hoping that some day the schools would have access to this reservoir of materials for the purpose of seeing what uses could be made of it in connection with educational work. I am happy to tell you that that day has arrived.

The first step in this direction was taken four years ago when the Committee on Social Values in Motion Pictures, under the chairmanship of Dr. Howard M. LeSourd, dean of the Graduate School of Boston University, made application to the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association for the experimental use of certain photoplays in connection with the development of a series of pictures on character education. Mr. Will H. Hays, president of that Association, arranged with certain of his member companies to

permit the use of twenty films for the development of this series. The Committee proceeded to cut excerpts from each film, selecting the parts that contained a life situation involving an important social or moral problem. A series of one- or two-reel pictures was thus made from these excerpts. This series is known as the "Secrets of Success" series, and was widely and gratefully received not only by schools, but also by churches and other nonacademic educational institutions. It has demonstrated the fact that educational materials can be extracted from theatrical films in a way that is exceedingly powerful and useful. Most important of all, however, is the fact that this experiment was the opening wedge which has led to the developments that I am about to announce.

The second important step toward the adaptation of noncurrent theatrical films to educational uses is the work of the Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association. This Commission is supported by a grant from the General Education Board and is directed by Dr. Alice V. Keliher with a staff of assistants. The purpose of the Commission is to conduct experimental work using the Secrets of Success series together with excerpts from other photoplays which are made available to the Commission under a series of contracts between the production companies and the Progressive Education Association. The purpose of these experiments is to make further determinations of the best methods of cutting and reediting theatrical films for school use, and also for the purpose of testing the educational effects of such reedited films in actual school situations. The work of this Commission is for the moment limited to the area of educational guidance, social adjustments, personality development, and mental hygiene. The problems presented by the films are some of the more common difficulties in human relations.

It is important to keep in mind that the work of the Committee on Social Values in Motion Pictures in developing the Secrets of

Success series was entirely *exploratory*; and the work of the Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association is entirely *experimental*. Both are pioneering pieces of work leading to even more significant developments in the use of motion pictures in education. They represent the first attempt to construct film materials for educational purposes out of feature pictures that were made for entertainment.

Another pioneering development which is distinct from but allied with the two that are mentioned above, and which until today has not been publicly announced, is that the member companies of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Incorporated, have opened their vaults of short subjects to an advisory committee of educators who are invited to come and see what is there of educational value. The exact number of short subjects which now lie noncurrent in the vaults of production companies is not known, but it is estimated that since the invention of sound on film, not less than 15,000 "shorts" have been produced. No one knows how many of these reels could be used in schools, but again it has been estimated that not less than 2,000 of them can probably be used as is, and perhaps another 2,000 or more could be used provided certain changes were made in them. We know already that certain classes or types of short subjects have great educational potentialities. For example, the travelogues (of which there are not less than 1,000 good ones) and the episodes from American history will undoubtedly be very useful in connection with the teaching of geography, history, and civics in the lower grades, and of the social studies in the upper grades. We know, also, that other "shorts" contain a great amount of material which is useful in connection with biological sciences, nature study, physical education, art, and music.

In order that the work of making an adequate educational appraisal of these short subjects may be carried on systematically by groups of educators who are competent to judge their educational

merits, an advisory committee on motion pictures in education has been organized. This committee is advisory to the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association and through this organization to its member companies. It is composed of a group of educators who are in a position to give sound educational advice to the industry.¹

The relation of this committee to the motion-picture industry in general, and to the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America in particular, is entirely advisory. Its services are voluntary. It receives no compensation for its counsel. Its members serve as individuals and not as official representatives of the institutions or organizations with which they are affiliated.

The actual work of making educational evaluations and appraisals of the short-subject material which has been made available by the producing companies is not done by the members of this committee, but by a series of panels, the personnel of which has been carefully chosen.

The reviewing panels are judging each picture critically according to a plan of evaluation that has been carefully worked out by the chairmen of the reviewing panels in collaboration with certain members of the advisory committee. Each picture is, therefore, subjected to a rather stiff examination which it must pass with a fairly high grade in order to be acceptable. The evaluation of each picture is made on three main counts: first, the subject matter with which the film deals; second, the effectiveness of presentation of this subject matter in the film, and, third, expected educational effects of the film.

¹The personnel of the committee is as follows. Frederick H. Bair, superintendent, Bronxville Public Schools; Isaiah Bowman, president, Johns Hopkins University; Karl T. Compton, president, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Edmund E. Day, president-elect, Cornell University; Royal B. Farnum, executive vice president, Rhode Island School of Design; Willard Givens, secretary, National Education Association; Mark A. May, director, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University; Jay B. Nash, professor of education, New York University

In regard to the first count—the subject matter of the film—the following specific questions are asked:

1. To what extent is the subject matter of this film related to curriculum at various grade levels?
2. Is the subject matter of this film otherwise unavailable to the pupils at the grade levels for which it is recommended?
3. To what extent does the subject matter of this film require motion or sound, or both, for the most effective presentation?

In regard to the second count—the effectiveness of the presentation of the film—some of the questions that are asked are the following:

1. Is the subject matter of this film presented with accuracy and authenticity?
2. Is there unity of theme?
3. Is there an educationally effective build-up or introduction?
4. Is the order logical?
5. Is the commentary or lecture suitable to the subject matter?
6. Are the visual and sound elements definitely integrated?
7. Is suitable emphasis given by the use of close-ups and other technical devices?
8. Is the material presented in such a way as to be readily relatable to and useful in the standard curriculum as now organized at the various grade levels?

In regard to the third count on which the film is judged—the expected educational effects—the following five questions are asked:

1. What noteworthy facts, ideas, or conceptions would one expect pupils to get from this film?
2. What interests and appreciations would one expect this film to develop?
3. What attitude and sensitivities would one expect this film to develop?
4. What skills would one expect this film effectively to promote?
5. What further educational activity on the part of pupils would one expect this film to stimulate?

In addition to all this, the reviewing panels are instructed to make careful notes concerning recommendations, deletions, and additions. They are also instructed to make careful and accurate synopses of the content of the film so that an adequate description of it may be written.

A brief but comprehensive report on each film is submitted to the owner, and a copy is filed at the office of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America. When the owners of these films are ready to release the ones recommended by the panel, it is expected that a complete synopsis of the film together with its educational evaluation will be made available to the schools.

The terms and conditions under which these films may be released to schools have not been worked out. Both the Advisory Committee and the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America are anxious that the best interests of the schools shall be met and at the same time that the proper functioning and sphere of activities of the motion-picture exhibitors shall be duly safeguarded.

Before closing, I want to point out the most important reason why, in my opinion, the use of motion pictures in the schools has lagged so far behind the developments in the entertainment field. It is, briefly, that educators have fallen into the habit of thinking of the film as a "visual aid" and have, therefore, not foreseen its full educational possibilities. Granted, that the motion picture is undoubtedly a great aid in the teaching of the course of study as outlined in the lesson syllabi and in textbooks; nevertheless, this use does not by any means exhaust its educational potentialities. I predict that before many years have passed the motion picture will rise from its present subordinated position as a "visual aid" to at least a coördinated position with the leading subject matter of the curriculum; and that it will become an integral part of the course of study and be generally regarded as one of the indispensable elements in the curriculum.

I believe this, first, because there is an increasing tendency on the

part of educators to "vitalize" the curriculum. They are trying to make it more nearly approximate real life. As the curriculum is becoming more and more loaded with life-situation materials, it is evident that the motion picture will provide a rich abundance of such material. It will enable the child to experience in the most complete way possible the great events of history, the vital experiences that come from travel, the thrills of living with people who are doing important things. It is through such experiences that the great social objectives of education can be most directly reached.

A second reason why I believe the motion picture will occupy an increasingly permanent place in the curriculum is the fact that the reading matter of the curriculum is not wholly adequate for reaching the cardinal objectives of education. If the subject-matter curriculum is regarded as a means to an end—namely, the proper development of each individual child—and if motion pictures are suited to achieve these ends directly, or at least some of them, it follows that such motion pictures should be regarded as direct routes to the objectives and not as detours through textbooks and lesson syllabi. Take, for example, the cardinal objectives of education as set up by the National Education Association a few years ago. Among them are: good citizenship, moral character, worthy home membership, sound physical and mental health, sensitivity to social problems, aesthetic appreciation, mental power, vocational orientation, cultural efficiency and resourcefulness, and creative ability. How are these worthy objectives of education to be reached? Surely no one would seriously contend that the conventional subject-matter curriculum is the only or even the most effective road to these social goals. Indeed, the recent appearance of so many specialized forms of education is evidence of a growing belief that more direct roads should be found. I refer, of course, to character education, health education, vocational education, art education, and to that most recent newcomer of all, educational guidance. The so-called "core curriculum" is still another effort to point the activities of the

school more directly at the cardinal objectives. Every one knows how exceedingly difficult it is to build character, citizenship, health, and aesthetic appreciation through lesson assignments and reading materials alone. More powerful educational tools must be found. Our experience leads me to believe that the motion picture may be an important part of the answer.

Remember that in the motion picture are combined the two great channels of learning—sight and sound—which enriched by color, music, and dramatic effects present the lessons of school and life with a power and a vitality that is unequaled by any other medium of education.

EXTENDING THE USE OF MOTION PICTURES FOR PHYSICAL EDUCATION

JAY B. NASH

New York University

The organization and plan of procedure of the Advisory Committee on Education has been described by Mark A. May in the preceding article. The application of this plan is well illustrated in the work of the Committee on Physical Education,¹ constituted within this advisory committee and made up of a number of leaders with a wide range of interests.

It was decided early in the procedure of the Committee on Physical Education to think of films as fitting into five general classifications: (1) men's sports, (2) women's sports, (3) dancing—modern, tap, and folk, (4) recreational activities (camp, playgrounds, recreation centers, etc.), and (5) hygiene and health. In addition to this general classification, the committee considered films from the standpoint of various age levels; namely, ages one to five, five to twelve, junior high school, senior high school, and adult.

The committee also had in mind the various uses which might be made of the films in connection with schools, recreation centers, camps, playgrounds, settlements, churches, and general school assemblies, together with the various types of instructional classes where the subject matter would be useful.

The members of the committee felt that the films to be ranked high should have instructional value rather than be merely entertaining, although it was realized that these two elements are not in conflict with each other. To be of highest instructional value, the committee felt that there should be a sound build-up in the presentation and that the latter *should stimulate the individual in participation*. The fact that participation might be encouraged was, largely,

¹ This committee functions under the chairmanship of Jay B. Nash

the point differentiating the instructional film from one that was merely entertaining. The committee felt that the film could not be ranked high in school and other educational institutional uses merely from the standpoint of entertainment. In general it was felt that a film might open with a very skillful presentation of a performance, possibly including some historical phases of the evolution of the game. After this presentation of the whole, it was felt that it would be proper to proceed to the analysis of the parts in fast action and in slow action, showing various types of exceptional plays and various "rule in factions," and then possibly to close with a skillful performance. This would serve the purpose of proceeding from the whole to the part and back to the whole.

Proceeding upon this basis and as rapidly as they could be presented, the committee began to review films from the standpoint of three procedures described as follows:

Procedure Number One. Indicate by a review of the pictures any which are acceptable in the present form. It was felt that quite a large number of the films were of great value in showing the past performance of men and women who are no longer at the peak of their ability. There were a great many pictures of Olympic events and performances in various parts of the world, some of them with considerable historical value. Eighty-three such films were accepted. Thirty-four were accepted provided certain changes were made, and twenty-nine were judged as containing salvageable parts—this total number out of 226 films reviewed. Because most of the films were produced for the theater, many of them contained slightly objectionable elements, such as "wisecracking," "ballyhoo," and various types of "humor" which educational institutions could not approve. In many instances the commentary was not of high caliber although there were exceptions to this. By all means commentators should eliminate puns, cheap comments, and cheap insinuations. It was the plan of the committee to give a thorough write-up of these various films, indicating how in their judgment they may be of use,

what their strong points are, and what their weak points are. For this purpose an evaluation blank has been drawn up which will become a matter of permanent record.

Procedure Number Two. Salvaging certain material from films. In some instances it seemed wise to detach the sound track because of the inadvisability of keeping the remarks of the commentator. It is the judgment of the committee that these could be used as part of other films, supplemented by the taking of certain pictures to make a complete teaching unit. Some of this material is very valuable, from a historical standpoint, as it can never be duplicated.

Procedure Number Three. This is still in the fluid state. It has to do with the criteria for the production of new motion pictures. The committee devoted a considerable amount of time to discussion of types of films that are needed and how they might be produced. From this standpoint numerous committees have been assembled to consider various subject matters—such as the various sports, folk dancing, tap dancing, modern routines, essential procedures in health and physical education. These various committees, representing many leaders in physical education in America, will outline the needs, after which they will be presented to the various producers with the thought in mind that motion pictures may be made by firms interested.

The list of such firms is very long and production of the films will extend over a number of years, as the various committees not only will want to outline the scenario and review the various scenes but will also want to give a very careful review of the final production. If such a procedure can be established it will become a historical document of high standing. The interest in the physical-education and health project is very great. Many letters have been received from prominent people wanting information and asking how they may acquire the help of the service. Numerous national associations have offered assistance in outlining what seems to the leaders in these various associations our professional problems.

MOTION PICTURES: A SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL FORCE

HELEN RAND MILLER

National Council of Teachers of English

Because attendance at motion pictures this year in the United States will be nearly four and one-half billion and in the world will be more than eleven billion, education is no longer confined to classrooms and does not all come out of textbooks. We have "movie-made children" and we are movie-made people; and therefore the movies are a part of education. The Committee on Standards for Motion Pictures of the National Council of Teachers of English is interested in motion pictures as an educational and social force. It is engaged in helping teachers and pupils to understand moving pictures so that they can do their part in making them the constructive force they can be.

This committee is making a study of what classes and clubs throughout the country are doing. It has made a study of pupil use of moving-picture fan magazines. It is making a study of the relation of moving pictures and books. A handbook for teachers, *Film and School*, will be published in November 1937.

The committee has lessons, exercises, experiments, and tests for studying the evaluation of commercial moving pictures. The first thing is to understand them—how they tell stories, how they present and interpret life. We look at life as we know it and define our philosophy and then ask, Does a particular picture we have seen show us people and conditions as we know them? Does it show what made the people and conditions what they are? To what extent does it misrepresent real life, distort it, or present it as it is?

For example, here is a suggested lesson in studying the rich man, poor man pattern, so often found in motion pictures:

What proportion of rich and poor people are there in your community? Tell what per cent are: (1) very wealthy, (2) rather rich, (3) in

comfortable circumstances, (4) in need of food, shelter, and clothing. Have you seen representatives of any of these groups presented truly in moving pictures? How was the presentation made effective—by clothes, by speeches, by home life, by manners, by acts, or by opinions held concerning them by others?

Write the titles of any five moving pictures on the board. Under each write the names of any four of the characters in these pictures. How many of these twenty names represent rich characters?

What is the proportion of rich men and poor men in this country? How does the proportion of rich men and poor men in moving pictures give a fair picture of economic conditions as they actually exist?

When we are considering a moving picture presenting crime, we first analyze what the sociologists and psychologists have found out about crime. They have told us that the important thing is to understand the causes of crime and that in most cases the cause is environment. A picture about crime, therefore, interprets life correctly when it shows clearly what made a man or a boy into a criminal. *The Devil Is a Sassy* showed that a bright boy is made into a criminal by his environment. That is constructive teaching. When we realize that slums make criminals, we know that the real criminals are those who make slums.

Everything in moving pictures is propaganda for something or somebody. We define propaganda as that which organizes opinion. The makers of moving pictures determine what people shall think and how they shall feel. They form attitudes not only by the kinds of stories they tell, but by every technique of the industry. Even the camera angle interprets: if the audience is to look down on a character, the camera makes us look down on him. Therefore, it is necessary not only to study the stories moving pictures tell but the methods, the techniques by which they tell stories.

RESCUING CIVILIZATION THROUGH MOTION PICTURES

MARION G. SHERIDAN
New Haven High School

Apparently civilization needs to be rescued, and it is to be lost or saved through the cinema. According to many today, and to thoughtful people too, the fate of civilization, of culture, of the social organism—call it what you will, for the terms are used indiscriminately—rests upon the motion picture. The disturbing situation exists not in America alone, but in places where there is some kind of civilization of a supposedly high order. To barbarians motion pictures have been found advantageous in promoting a knowledge of Western ways. To civilized people motion pictures are said to have brought degeneration and to be hastening destruction.

Usually the motion picture is isolated as the root of all evil. Sometimes it is linked with a modern companion, the radio. By critics with some perspective it is properly joined with books, magazines, newspapers, and the currents of modern life. Most often, however, the motion picture alone is Atlas, failing to support the burden of civilization. As a consequence of such statements it is an easy thing to be exceedingly pessimistic about the apparent toy of the moving pictures: the finest things of our inheritance.

If you wish to be depressed about the situation, reflect upon such comments as those quoted here: the first, by Rudolf Arnheim, a German; the second, by E. G. Biaggini, writing from Adelaide, Australia; the third, by I. A. Richards, of Cambridge University, in England, and the fourth, by William Orton, of Smith College, in the United States.

1. The truth is that man really likes evil and is born stupid; any one who wishes to improve the world has to effect his purpose in spite not only of external opposition but especially of himself. The mass-produced

film titillates what is bad and stupid in man; it ensures that dissatisfaction shall not burst into revolutionary action but shall fade away in dreams of a better world. It serves up in a sugar coating what really needs combating.

. . . The average film encourages the lazy creature of habit that lies in man. Its effect is anticultural and antiprogressive, because it nourishes the retrogressive tendencies that exist in every human being.¹

2 The cinema, the radio programs, the novel, and the daily newspaper are concerned not so much with achieving excellence as with making as universal an appeal as possible to the greatest number of people; their object, that is, is to appeal to the greatest common measure of the public intelligence. . . . In science and practical affairs there has in the twentieth century been a leveling-up; in the arts of everyday life there has been a leveling-down. . . . Apart from the individual loss which follows from living in a society where cultural standards are low, there is the fundamental question of the health and safety of the social organism itself.²

3. In the development of any attitude there are stages, points of rest, of relatively greater stability. These, as we dwell in them, become more and more difficult to pass, and it is not surprising that most people remain all their lives in various halfway houses.

These stages or levels of emotional adjustment seem, for the most part, to be fixed not by any special suitability to circumstances, certainly not to present circumstances, but much more by social suggestion and by accidents which withdraw us from actual experience, the one force which might push us further. At present bad literature, bad art, the cinema, etc., are an influence of the first importance in fixing immature and actually inapplicable attitudes to most things. Even the decision as to what constitutes a pretty girl or a handsome young man, an affair apparently natural and personal enough, is largely determined by magazine covers and moving-picture stars. The quite common opinion that the arts have after all very little effect upon the community shows only that too little attention is being paid to the effects of bad art.

The losses incurred by these artificial fixations of attitudes are evident.

¹ Rudolf Arnheim, *Film*, translated from the German by L. M. Sieveking and Ian F. D. Morrow with a preface by Paul Rotha (London: Faber and Faber, 24 Russell Square, first published May 1933), 300 pages, pp. 171-172.

² E. G. Biaggini, *The Reading and Writing of English*, introduction by F. R. Leavis. Hutchinson's Scientific and Technical Publications, 1936, 240 pages, pp. 233-234.

Through them the average adult is worse, not better adjusted to the possibilities of his existence than the child. He is even in the most important things fundamentally unable to face facts; do what he will he is only able to face fictions, fictions projected by his own stock responses.³

4. The masses of America may not be very high in the scale of culture; they are not as low as the motion-picture people imagine them. A teacher who persists in the delusion that his pupil is a moron when in fact he is merely dull is not a safe person to employ; and it is an open question whether in cultural activities the state can afford—especially the democratic state—to leave the molding of the mass mind to people who regard it merely as the raw material for a bank balance.⁴

The main criticism directed against motion pictures seems to be that they are a menace because the effect is stultifying or numbing. By looking down rather than up in respect to the audience the producers blur distinctions. Motion pictures encourage stock responses to situations demanding reflection. The main criticism in short is that the motion picture dulls perceptions.

There are moments when such a charge seems true enough. The fan mail reported in *Scribner's Magazine* for April 1937 in its naiveté does not indicate deep thought or a critical attitude on the part of movie-goers. It does not defend such correspondence to say that many letters to matinee idols or to newspapers are equally lacking. If you wish to join with many critics, you will blame the motion pictures for the shortcomings of the people that you see and hear and of whom you do not approve. You may superficially pass judgment upon their standard of beauty and decide that their conception of the finer things of life is crass, dull, or lacking. It is equally dull to blame the ubiquitous motion-picture theater. Our widely extended public-school system makes endeavors in many directions to change perceptions, endeavors too often thwarted by home influences, social and economic conditions, and you may add, if you will, motion pictures.

³ Ivor Armstrong Richards, *Principles of Literary Criticism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925), pp. 202-203.

⁴ William Aylott Otton, *America in Search of Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1933), 310 pages, p. 222.

You may deplore the fact that Greta Garbo and other motion-picture stars are what Douglas Churchill, writing in *The New York Times* at the death of Jean Harlow, called an institution.⁶ You may deplore the kind of publicity that accompanies productions. Too often you are told that you should see motion pictures because they are stupendous or costly. Shirley Temple's coming appearance in *Heidi* was announced in one notice not in terms of cinema achievement but in the effect that it will have on styles of dress for children in the fall. Read newspapers for a critical analysis of a film; most often your search is futile. A pupil attempting to edit a column on moving pictures in the school newspaper returned copies of a Sunday Los Angeles newspaper with the true statement that the pile had yielded little for her purposes. She was not interested in gossip. And it is gossip—trivia—that a large motion-picture audience has clamored for and been rewarded with by an accommodating press.

It is in some ways more depressing that thoughtful motion pictures do not have a chance for appreciation because attention is diverted from the picture in ways that seem unjustifiable. At a production of *Quality Street* in a neighborhood theater it was a question how much interest there was in the late Sir James Barrie or in the motion-picture version of his gentle drama of the Napoleonic times. For the major portion of the audience the high spot of the evening seemed to be the drama of a door award of several hundred dollars and the drawing for prizes of five-dollar bills. *Captains Courageous*, skillfully directed by Victor Fleming, was accompanied by an excellent showing of the various prize-winning Walt Disney films from the first such prize in 1932 through the film of 1936, a valuable way of revealing the scope of Walt Disney's contributions to the cinema and of the development of his technique. Such a program was considered insufficient. The audience of men and women as well as boys and girls also witnessed a "short" concerned with a prize fighter and his use of a check, followed by the

⁶ Douglas Churchill, "Hollywood Magic Revealed Again," *The New York Times*, Sunday, June 13, 1937

Braddock-Louis fight, round by round, with "magical" slow motion for the "knockdown" and the "knockout." A member of the audience might well be envious of Lee Shippey, writing in the *Los Angeles Times* of June 3, 1937, of seeing *Captains Courageous* as a single feature without accompaniments. Instead of learning of coming events through the customary distracting trailers, he gained the information from a program.

It is hopeful, however, that there are some excellent motion pictures and that in one place in the country it is possible to have attention focused upon a picture produced with care. It is also promising to read of a probable diminution in the number of Class B films made to provide the second picture in a double-feature program.

There are, to be sure, many causes of concern about motion pictures, and about other aspects of modern life. The solution for the motion picture in its relation to civilization does not seem to lie, as some believe, in the use of the motion picture solely as a means of information or indoctrination about the world in which we live. Advocates of informing films, of films that are coming to be known as "documentary," see the salvation of the world in the artistic presentation of information. How such information may be kept free from prejudice or propaganda is another question. When the term *belles-lettres* shifts in meaning to the extent that it includes only the consciously and purposefully sociological, then and then only should film production be restricted to the documentary.

Another phase of the didactic is the study of human problems. In what dilemma was a character placed? Why did he act as he did? What was the proper course of action? Such study, stimulated through *The Secrets of Success*, for example, is challenging to thought and therefore valuable.

It is difficult to believe, however, that didactic films, even very artistic ones, should because of their informing nature be the means of saving civilization. The didactic has its place. It has not had the

first rank in the fine arts; and it is with the fine arts that the future of the motion picture would seem to be. Recognition of the motion picture as a fine art with a future would tend to end the underestimating of the general intelligence. It would seem to be a way of raising the populace a point or two higher on the stages of culture, beyond the halfway house that Mr. Richards refers to as a common stopping place.

It should be legitimate to regard the motion picture primarily as entertainment, as a means of *re-creation*. As entertainment it need not always be restricted to historical fact as opposed to poetic truth. There is a place in this world for the imagination with all kinds of people of all ages, a place for an escape from the world of reality without criticism that the motion picture is a narcotic, Walt Disney's silly symphonies have appealed to the imagination. He tells again the old story of the tortoise and the hare and the story of the country cousin; and his cinematic version brings delight. From the earliest times people have enjoyed storytelling, and moving pictures tell stories. That is generally known. What is not generally known is how the motion picture best tells the story. When motion-picture audiences learn how the story should be told, there should be a different level of response to pictures and a different kind of demand upon producers.

The discovery of how the picture best tells the story will come through motion-picture appreciation resulting from analysis and reflection. Even at this early date the term motion-picture appreciation is used rather thoughtlessly, without reference to the far-reaching implications of genuine appreciation in helping to bear the burden of rescuing civilization.

Motion-picture appreciation will have increasing materials for study. The history of the motion picture and the development of its technique may be made clear through some such excellent method as that of the Film Library of the Museum of Modern Art, provid-

ing for a showing of early pictures in systematic form, accompanied by an annotated program. Such a study would make for a realization of the development from a straightforward narrative with emphasis on movement and action to the obliquity of modern films, an obliquity more to be attributed to montage, the cutting or editing of the film, than to any other force. There will be more books, analytical ones by Americans. At the present time many of the thoughtful books are by English writers or continental ones.⁸ Many of the books are comparatively difficult to secure, as well as difficult to use when many excellent ones have not been translated. A number of good American books are out of print. Outstanding recent American books are *Film and Theatre* (1936) by Professor Allardyce Nicoll, Chairman of the Department of Drama at Yale University, and *Art and Prudence* (1937) by Mortimer J. Adler, Associate Professor of the Philosophy of Law at the University of Chicago.

Box-office figures have emphasized the strong appeal of the motion picture; very satisfactorily of late it has been shown that "the thirty-three 'champions' of the year [1936]—as listed by the Quigley publications—are practically all in the upper grade of production." Many members of the audience would not be reluctant to try to see more in a film even in leisure moments, if the way to do so was made clear. And leisure moments are key moments in motion pictures just as in literature, of which T. S. Eliot wrote:

But what people commonly assume, I suspect, is that we gain this experience of other men's views of life only by "improving reading." This, it is supposed, is a reward we get by applying ourselves to Shakespeare, and Dante, and Goethe, and Emerson, and Carlyle, and dozens of other respectable writers. The rest of our reading for amusement is merely killing time. But I incline to come to the alarming conclusion that it is just the literature that we read for "amusement" or "purely for pleasure"

⁸ Consider Paul Rotha, *Documentary Film* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1936) Raymond Spottiswoode, *A Grammar of the Film, an Analysis of Film Technique* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, first published in September 1935)

⁹ Letter from Alice Ames Winter, May 1, 1937

that may have the greatest and least suspected influence upon us. It is the literature that we read with the least effort that can have the easiest and most insidious influence upon us. Hence it is that the influence of popular novelists, and of popular plays of contemporary life, requires to be scrutinized most closely. And it is chiefly *contemporary* literature that the majority of people read in this attitude of "purely for pleasure," of pure passivity.*

If you were a motion-picture producer, in all probability you would endeavor to make pictures that would invite an audience. The level of the audience would determine the level of your efforts, unconsciously as well as consciously. It would be futile to aim too high or too low. Producers should not let technical developments remain at a standstill because the audience is not ready for them." Furthermore, it should not be disastrous to an art to have it appreciated by the masses. Some fear that mass approval makes inevitable low standards of culture and of taste. Great art such as Shakespeare's has had vitality, with something to offer for those on each rung of the ladder of appreciation both in the theater and in the library. It is getting to be almost bromidic to say that the motion picture is to the present-day population what the theater was to the Elizabethans.

Negatively castigating the motion picture as a means of reflecting taste at low levels and keeping it there or degrading it further, negatively castigating it as a means of dulling perception, will not sharpen the perceptions of those from all walks of life: the highest in political, professional, or business circles (if theirs need sharpening), the men in the army and navy, the inmates of jails and prisons, the youth and the adults of our broad land. Bitter criticism, in some cases without a foundation in fact, may be a way of hindering the advance of the motion picture and thereby perhaps of actually dulling the perceptions of the audience of the one art form that is most popular currently.

* T. S. Eliot, *Essays Ancient and Modern* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932), 203 pages, pp. 105-106.

* Marc Connelly as reported by Lucius Beebe in the *New York Herald Tribune* of May 16, 1937, remarked on the need for technical progress

The way to rescue civilization, by way of the motion picture, would be to sharpen in every possible way the perceptions of those who attend, so that they will be critical of what they see and cognizant of and responsive to the best when it is projected before them on the so-called "silver screen."

PROGRAM OF THE
EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY SECTION OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Atlantic City

LUNCHEON MEETING, Tuesday, December 28, 1937

Chairman, LESLIE DAY ZELNY, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minnesota

"Next Steps in Educational Sociology," C. C. PETERS, Pennsylvania State College

* * * *

PANEL, Wednesday, December 29, 1.30-3.30

"Social Process in School and Community Relationships," LESLIE DAY ZELNY, *chairman*

"Cooperation in the Classroom," DOROTHY R. CLEMENT, Atlantic City Public Schools

"Motion-Picture Influence Modified by Community Backgrounds," PAUL G. CRESSEY, New York University

"The Teacher in the Community," LLOYD ALLEN COOK, Ohio State University

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PANEL, Thursday, December 30, 1.00-3.00

"Nationalism's Challenge to Education," FRANCIS J. BROWN, School of Education, New York University—*Program chairman*

"The Philosophies and Techniques of Propaganda," MICHAEL CHOUKAS, Dartmouth College

"Nonschool Agencies: Instruments of Nationalism and Internationalism," O. W. RIEGEL, Washington and Lee University

"The Public School: An Agency of Nationalism or Internationalism," I. D. TAUBENECK, Bronxville Public Schools, Bronxville, New York

MOTION-PICTURE APPRECIATION IN THE NEW HAVEN SCHOOLS

DONALD A. ELDRIDGE

New Haven High School

Stimulated by the work of various groups and individuals, including the National Council of Teachers of English, the National Education Association, and an organization of local public-spirited citizens known as the New Haven Better Films Council,¹ New Haven (Connecticut) became "movie conscious" about four years ago. This development has been briefly summarized in an article which appeared in the *New Haven Teachers' Journal*:

Not many years ago, educators were prone to regard the "movie palace" as a sort of iniquitous den, and the screen as a siren which insidiously "vamped" students away from fine art and literature, and prostituted what taste they might have had. This attitude of aloofness persisted until the late '20's, with the result that public opinion, delegated to a board of censorship interested only in elimination of overt immorality, lay dormant, and the cinema producers released films of ever increasing menace to the character of school pupils in their formative years. In 1933, almost simultaneously with the Legion of Decency Campaign, the National Council of Teachers of English appointed a committee to begin experimenting with the motion picture as a part of the English curriculum in high schools throughout the country. This was an effort to develop high standards of motion-picture appreciation, and consequently to help raise motion-picture standards in general. New Haven was one of the key cities, and here (under the guidance of Dr. Marion C. Sheridan) the acceptance of the photoplay study was so enthusiastic that it became a regular part of the English requirements.

In order to expand the benefits derived through cinema study in the high-school English classes, Motion Picture Councils were established in every eighth-grade, junior high, and high school in the city. These

¹Organized in 1933. Soon changed its name to New Haven Theatre Patrons, Incorporated. One of the valuable services performed by this group was the local exhibition of the Museum of Modern Art historical film series two years ago. All members of the school motion-picture councils were provided with free tickets for the series.

councils are well organized, with a student executive council and faculty guiding council, under the general direction of Mr. T. E. Curran and Mr. A. F. Mayhew.³

A regulation of the English department of the high school, adopted in the fall of 1935, requires at least ten lessons to be devoted to the study of photoplay appreciation each year. The nature and quality of these lessons depend upon the interest and point of view of the individual teacher. Most teachers use Edgar Dale's *How to Appreciate Motion Pictures*⁴ as the basis for discussion, with supplementary analyses of worth-while current photoplays. Posters, such as those issued by the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Incorporated, are displayed in the school library and in certain key rooms throughout the building. Of considerable value to the New Haven teacher is the reduced rate admission which is available to any group accompanied by a teacher at any first-run theater.⁵ With this arrangement it is possible to have a large proportion of every class attend outstanding films, which obviously makes for more valuable discussions than would otherwise be possible.

In organization and general set-up the New Haven Junior Motion Picture Council has advantages not enjoyed by similar groups in some other cities, whose activities are less closely interwoven. All twenty-three of the junior councils now existing—including public- and private-school clubs, Friends of Boys, and Campfire Girls—are members of a central council, with the same set aims and general objectives. Each council elects a junior executive board member who represents it at executive board meetings held during the year as occasion demands. This junior executive board works in collaboration with a group of adult advisers of the various clubs in planning projects and activities. The adult advisers have a steering

³ John E. Braslin and Donald A. Eldridge, "Motion Pictures in the New Haven Schools," *New Haven Teachers' Journal*, February 1937, p. 17.

⁴ New York, The Macmillan Company, 1934, 243 pages. Sixty copies of this book are available to teachers for class use.

⁵ Fifteen cents instead of twenty-five cents admission to five theaters.

committee, which actually forms the heart of the whole body. This steering committee meets early each year, with a chief adviser as chairman, makes recommendations, and outlines plans, which are presented at a subsequent meeting of all adult advisers and junior executive members. Here they are discussed and enlarged—frequently altered by students' suggestions—the final result being the plan of attack for the ensuing year. Then adult advisers and executive members report to their respective groups, and the machinery is put into operation.

This unity has made possible the acquiring of valuable assistance from the local theaters—including the standard reduced rates, and organized previews of coming pictures—a series of radio programs, and a *symposium on motion pictures*, projects which are described later in this paper. The value of the exchange of ideas made possible by this organization is obvious. However, in actual operation of the individual clubs, individual methods and initiative are given free rein. The central organization is not intended to be a governing body; its chief function is to stimulate and to coördinate wherever coördination will have mutually beneficial effects.

The accomplishments of these motion-picture councils are varied. Underlying, of course, is the aim mentioned above—to raise motion-picture standards in general through education of young movie-goers. Translated, this may be said to mean "making the best movies the best-paying movies." Study is made of the various phases of the photoplay: the preparation of the story, scenario and script, the photography and lighting, direction, settings, costumes and make-up, research problems and procedure, music and sound, distribution, and related elements. Incidental problems such as that of block booking frequently are analyzed. Several councils have devised rating sheets which they use regularly in judging films. In some of the grade schools and junior high schools, council members report to the homerooms on the decisions of their clubs. Several groups maintain bulletin boards displaying items and stills related

to recommended films. Assembly programs are arranged in some schools. One of the grammar schools (eighth grade) conducted a film-judging contest during the past year, offering theater passes to the winners. Two of the high-school councils (New Haven and Hamden) have sponsored and directed the making of newsreels of school activities. At New Haven High a group of students produced a short comedy based upon high-school life.

One of the most valuable accomplishments, the organized previews, has been made possible through the coöperation of the local theater managers, their distributors, and the Board of Education. Once each week during 1935-1936, representatives from all of the councils in the New Haven area were privileged to preview a photoplay which was judged by Mr. A. F. Mayhew, assistant superintendent in charge of visual education, to be the most valuable first-run picture listed for the following week's exhibition in the city. The Board of Education furnished the auditorium, lights, and power, while the operator was supplied by the exhibitor booking the picture, and the film itself was loaned by the distributor. Occasionally, two films were shown. Two to five representatives were admitted, depending upon the size of the school from which they came. These representatives returned to their respective groups with reports, and where the reports were favorable council members boosted the film by praise on bulletin boards, posters, and word-of-mouth.⁸

This preview program, incidentally, is but one of many illustrations of the splendid coöperation existing between New Haven distributors, exhibitors, and educators. Demonstrating appreciation of the value of the school photoplay work, the theater people have provided the schools with various films, free of charge, for educational purposes, and they have arranged private previews for principals and teachers whenever requested. Beyond this, they have

⁸ Unfortunately, this arrangement had to be discontinued during 1936-1937 for the school system's only 35 millimeter sound projector—located at one of the junior high schools where the previews were held—proved to be inadequate to handle the new larger reels which were recently adopted by the producers. During the fall of 1937, however, it is expected that new equipment will be installed, and this valuable preview plan again put into practice.

furnished study guides for school use, together with many stills—both the regular display variety and miniature and research photographs—press books, and free tickets for underprivileged children. Also, recognizing the influential force and ideals of the school groups, local theater managers have conscientiously tried to arrange well-balanced double-feature programs in order to secure school backing, and they actually have refused to exhibit several pictures on the “condemned” list.

That this confidence was not misplaced was proved by an investigation conducted by the distributors in connection with the “road showing” of *Romeo and Juliet*, in which New Haven was one of two “key” cities checked. Here, all performances were practically sold out, and nearly *ninety per cent* of all tickets were sold through the schools. Meanwhile, in the other “key” city of comparable size where school cooperation did not exist, *Romeo and Juliet* failed at the box office.

Any new educational activity such as motion-picture appreciation study must have some support from the general public of the community in which it is practised if it is to advance and grow. In order to prepare for further development of the motion-picture projects in New Haven, public interest has been appealed to chiefly through the medium of the radio and an annual public demonstration in the form of a symposium.

Early in 1937, the executive council appointed a committee to arrange a series of broadcasts to be undertaken by the various junior councils of the city. These were presented on what is known as the “Theatre News Hour,” a fifteen-minute program sponsored by the New Haven Theatre Patrons—an adult group devoted to the encouragement of better films and theatrical entertainment.* Each council was allowed to choose its own subject, under the guidance of the committee, whose function was to avoid duplications by

* A weekly magazine, *Theatre News*, published by this group, contains impartial reviews of photoplays appearing currently in New Haven and vicinity. At regular intervals, *Theatre News* features a Junior Council page, with articles contributed by members of the school councils.

checking scripts, and to notify councils and the radio station as to dates, arrange publicity, and file scripts after the programs were completed. Beginning on January 16, 1937, the junior councils took over the program on alternate Saturday mornings through May 22, when their final presentation occurred. Some of the topics presented were: "The Origin and Purpose of the New Haven Junior Motion Picture Councils," "Selecting the Twelve Best Movies of 1936," "How to Judge a Motion Picture," "The Secrets of Success Films," "Recent Trends in Movies," "The Truman School Movie Contest," "Visual Education in Boardman Trade School," and discussions of current pictures endorsed by the various councils.

These radio programs, obviously, provided an opportunity not only for awakening public interest, but also for training the students participating, including coordination with courses in public speaking and dramatics, to whose care the rehearsal of the programs were referred in some schools.

Early in May 1937, the following invitation was prepared by a committee which had been appointed for the purpose by the adult guiding board of the motion-picture council:

You are cordially invited to attend the Second Annual Symposium of the Junior Motion Picture Councils of the New Haven and Hamden schools at the Paramount Theater, Wednesday, May 19, 9.45 a.m. (D.S.T.). The purpose of the symposium is to provide the school children who have participated in the motion-picture appreciation project with an opportunity to demonstrate the degree of success achieved in the activity. It is also hoped that this demonstration will stimulate interest in the project on the part of the general public and educators throughout the State

A film, *Alibi Racket*, one of the Crime Does Not Pay Series, will serve as the central core of this year's symposium. Following the showing of the film, student representatives of each council will lead forum discussions on various important phases of motion-picture study and appreciation such as acting, direction, photography, and the like. In addition to the forum discussions, a representative of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association will speak on "Motion Pictures from the Producers' Viewpoint."

The symposium is open to the public without charge, and we would be extremely grateful if you would act as our representative in inviting any of your friends who might be interested to attend

Over two hundred of these invitations, together with copies of the program which had been prepared by the symposium and discussion committee, were sent to school principals, administrators, and other individuals who were expected to be interested, and to public-service clubs, such as the Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions, to Parent-Teacher Associations throughout the locality, to church groups, and various other organizations.

As is indicated in the invitation quoted above, this program was composed around a short film produced by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, locally exhibited a year or so ago, which was loaned to the council free of charge for the month of May, by the producers. A brief introduction given by representatives of two junior councils attempted to summarize the various types of motion pictures and their purposes. Then the film, *Alibi Racket*, was shown. All of the discussions that followed, given by members of twelve additional junior councils, were based upon this film. These informal group analyses covered the story, preparation of the script and scenario, casting, acting, settings, costumes and make-up, photography and lighting, with a "mock shooting" of two scenes from the picture, in which floodlights and "baby spots" were set up, and camera positions shown—music and sound, both artistic and technical problems—and direction. By way of summary, the entertainment and social values of the film were estimated. At intervals, a student rated the picture on a chart prepared by her club. To climax the demonstration, the film was shown a second time, "to show the audience what they didn't see," in the words of the student chairman who took charge of the program⁷

Hal Hode, executive assistant to the vice-president of Columbia Pictures, Incorporated, presented "The Producers' View of the

⁷ The general plan and continuity for the program was arranged by faculty committees. Actual preparation of the discussions, however, was done by the students under faculty guidance.

Movies" in an interesting manner, supplementing his talk by answering questions from the audience relative to production. The two-hour program was concluded with comments by the Mayor and the Superintendent of Schools, both of whom mentioned the value of motion-picture appreciation programs in the schools on the basis of preparation of students to enjoy their leisure time more profitably and more wholesomely.

This symposium, as has been said, was the second attempted in New Haven. In 1936, the program was similar in its objectives, but naturally, being the first of a series, was more general in presentation, not being built around any central theme. Films were used last year, however: *Broken Lullaby*, Part II, of the Secrets of Success Series, and *Hillhouse High-lites*, a film produced during 1936 by the New Haven High School council. The 1937 program was much smoother mechanically than that of the preceding year, due largely to the coöperation of the stage manager of the Paramount Theater, who arranged a series of drops which enabled successive groups to follow one another with a minimum of delay. Throughout, the management of the theater was very kind, donating the use of the building free of charge, except where union regulations prevented.

Expenditures for stagehands, operators, and speaker totaled around forty dollars. Of this, twenty dollars was appropriated by the Board of Education (convinced by last year's program of its worth, incidentally), and an equal amount was contributed by the New Haven Theatre Patrons, whose coöperation helped to make the program possible. According to the latest report, a "profit" of forty-five cents was netted. Of vastly more importance is the realization that the symposium itself, plus the attendant publicity received in the press and via radio "plugs," created valuable interest which is expected to encourage worth-while advances in the motion-picture work in New Haven.

An important part of any educational program is the evaluation of its results. In New Haven, no objective tests have been attempted

to determine the accomplishments of the motion-picture appreciation work which has been done. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw some general conclusions from evidence which is obvious. Students have gained increased appreciation of the films and greater discrimination as movie-goers. A survey conducted in the high school in the spring of 1936 has indicated this. The classroom is a constant mirror of a new attitude on the part of students generally. And the producers realize the importance of this new attitude, if one may believe Hal Hode, who said in his remarks at the recent symposium that the producers realize that the children of today are the picture public of tomorrow—that they must be catered to, and, as their tastes improve and their demands become more discriminating, the producers will give increasing attention to making their product better and better to satisfy the new demand.

Here, it seems, is the crux of the entire motion-picture appreciation problem, not only in regard to theatrical films, but to educational films as well. If students, teachers, and the public in general can be made to realize the important potentialities of the motion picture, and taught how to use and appreciate it, there will come, perforce, a new program of films designed to satisfy a new demand. Then both teachers, seeking to give new potency to their teaching concepts, and the public, seeking new, fuller satisfaction of their entertainment desires, will be served, and all will profit thereby.

AN UNUSUAL BOOK ON VISUAL AIDS

GRACE FISHER RAMSEY

American Museum of Natural History

Instructors who are interested in removing some of the verbalism from their teaching should welcome an up-to-date textbook on the subject of visual aids. Thus they have in *Visualizing the Curriculum* by Hoban, Hoban, and Zisman.¹ In an attractive and unusual format this text presents the best methods of using visual materials as an integral part of the regular curriculum and making them functional in the learning process. It is fitting that the most concrete of all visual aids, the school journey, should be given first place in the listing, also that it should be followed by other concrete materials in the form of museum objects or *realia*.

In the same section we read that "the motion picture is particularly adapted to those subjects in the curriculum in which sound is an essential element, and in which dramatic continuity, motion, slow motion, animation, and microphotography are essential to the development of meaning." This should show instructors that films having part of their footage devoted to still models have little or no excuse for being in a school library.

The discussion of visual aids and the principles of learning include four general principles for the use of visual aids: (1) visual material should have an air of reality for the pupils; (2) the relative effectiveness of the various visual aids is in direct ratio to the pupils' stage of learning and development; (3) the value of a certain type of visual aid is determined in part by the objectives of instruction in the particular classroom situation, but mere concrete experience is no guarantee of a meaningful generalization; (4) the advance from the concrete to the abstract varies in rate and quality with intellectual maturity, so "materials and methods of instruc-

¹ New York: Cordon Company, 1937, 300 pages

tion must be provided in accordance with the psychological differences of the children."

The school journey is thoroughly discussed in the second chapter as a method of visual instruction with emphasis upon its use instead of expending energy in creating an artificial situation in the classroom. Descriptions of school journeys, their values, types, procedures, and techniques are given, also some suggestive trips for city and rural schools. When such journeys are impossible, museum materials arranged in a functional way are an important part of instructional equipment, so much so that every school should have a small museum. The authors give excellent suggestions for sources of materials, their organization, and methods for their use.

Since the world is too large for every child to secure all his education through experiential learning, many situations can be brought into the classroom vicariously by means of the motion picture, "the most powerful of the pictorial tools of education that have been devised by man," and the one in which readers of this issue of *THE JOURNAL* are probably the most interested. Mention is made of the dangers in the selectivity of the motion picture, whether in a photoplay or instructional film. The peculiar functions of films in instruction are defined as the depiction (1) of continuity of processes and events, (2) of observable action, (3) of unobservable action, and (4) the development of attitudes. The special techniques by which the motion picture overcomes limitations of time, space, and human vision are outlined under the authors' discussion of animation, slow motion, time-lapse, micro- and miniature photography. In the discussion of types of films available for instructional use from the point of view of size, there is no mention made of the 8 mm. width which possibly should have been included because of its increasing use in classrooms in some sections. The relative values of both silent and sound films are discussed with the authors' conclusion that "the sound and the silent motion pictures have dis-

tinct places in the instructional procedure, and inherent in each are certain advantages lacking in the other."

The values of motion pictures in instruction are well stated. The authors have tried to bring logical order into the assortment of films available to schools by assigning them to seven overlapping classifications: process films, skill films, dramatic films, industrial films, emotional films, documentary films, and background films. It might be of some interest for instructors using films to classify those planned for the present semester according to this order.

But however excellent a film may be, there may be such a lack of good methodology in presenting it that practically no learning will result. For one who has given little or no thought to this, the discussion under the analysis of the film, evaluation, pupil preparation and motivation, methods of projection, etc., should help to prevent misuse of films which is common in many schools.

An important development in the motion picture in education is the growing interest of teachers in producing films concerning school activities and social conditions of their own communities. Many of these films fill the need of the schools for developing a keener civic consciousness. Other good suggestions for teacher-made films are given in this chapter which is closed with mention of another important movement—that of teaching appreciation in secondary schools.

The still picture as a means of portraying arrested motion, two or three spatial dimensions, line and color, and revealing relationships not variable with motion, occupies the subject matter of the next chapter. Stereographs so valuable for individual study, are given first place, followed by the values of the glass slide, film strips, and other forms of still projections. Excellent illustrations add much to the enjoyment of the section. It is a real pleasure also to note that mention is made of the proper use of illustrations in school textbooks.

Other media for aiding concreteness, in themselves more or less

abstract, are discussed under the head of graphic materials and include charts, pictorial graphs, maps, diagrams, etc. The cartoon and poster receive their share of attention, also the blackboard, a common medium for activities involving both teacher and pupil. Emphasis is given to the fact that the many visual aids should be considered in relation to other teaching materials and how they may best be used to attain the objectives of instruction, not omitting the importance of their correlation with other materials and with the curriculum.

Final chapters in the book consider the administration of a visual-aids program including the important items of equipment and of teacher training, also architectural provisions to be made for visual devices when planning a new building. As the final page is reached, the reader feels like enthusiastically exclaiming, "A splendid addition to the field of visual instruction!"

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology.

RESEARCH ON TEACHING FILMS IN NEW YORK CITY

An evaluation of sound motion pictures in the teaching of geography in the 6B grade is being undertaken during the current term in three elementary schools in New York City. A carefully devised experiment will be carried on under the general auspices of an associate superintendent of the New York public-school system.

The schools selected are Public School 150, Queens, Public School 165, Manhattan, and Public School 170, Brooklyn. The research will compare the results of sound films in 6B geography with the more traditional methods of instruction. Further researches into the value of sound films in science in the junior high schools and in biology classes are in prospect.

Another study to be undertaken under the direction of Charles D. Eichel, principal of Public School 202, Brooklyn, New York, will investigate the use of organized sound current history, 16 mm. film in the teaching of current history to seventh- and eighth-grade pupils in the elementary schools. The objectives of this study are to determine if there is any increased efficiency in the teaching of current events through the medium of 16 mm. sound films over traditional methods, and to determine the increase of knowledge gained through this medium over the knowledge gained through the usual method of reading current-events periodicals.

Three schools will take part in the experiment. Control and experimental groups will be studied, the experimental group to use the March of Time episodes while the control group will study current-events sheets based upon topics covered by the film. The same teacher will be in control of the experimental groups and the matched control groups. The groups will be controlled for differences in intelligence quotients.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH RESEARCHES

The Committee on Standards for Motion Pictures and Newspapers of the National Council of Teachers of English¹ is engaged in three studies of interest in the field of motion pictures: an investigation of pupil use of moving-picture fan magazines, a research into the activities of motion-picture classes and clubs throughout the country, and a study of the relation between moving pictures and books.²

The study of pupil use of fan magazines was carried out by means of a questionnaire filled out by school pupils. This form, providing information as to the city and school of its origin as well as the age, sex, and grade of the child, did not require the children to sign their names. It covered such matters as the frequency of reading fan magazines, the magazines read, types of articles liked, and various reactions to what was read.

The study of the activities of motion-picture classes and clubs has been undertaken primarily to get new material for persons conducting such clubs or to make available to classes and clubs in general the most successful experiences of such groups. Through the coöperation of authorities in the field of visual instruction a select list of persons known to be engaged in the sponsorship of a motion-picture club or the teaching of a motion-picture study unit or class has been developed. To each name on this list two questionnaires with a covering letter were sent. The results of the study will be presented during the Thanksgiving holidays at the annual meeting of the National Council of Teachers in English in Buffalo.

¹ The general chairman of the Committee is Helen Rand Miller of the English department of Evanston Township High School and Northwestern University.

² This statement has been furnished through the courtesy of Connie McCullough of the English department of Edison High School, Minneapolis. Miss McCullough is conducting the survey of the activities of classes and clubs under the supervision of Mrs. Miller.

BOOK REVIEWS

Art and Prudence, by MORTIMER J. ADLER. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1937, 686 pages.

This book purporting to be a study in practical philosophy is devoted chiefly to the motion picture. The author is Associate Professor of Philosophy of Law at the University of Chicago. The book has been received with widely different reactions by various types of reviewers.

The book is an outgrowth of a report upon "recent empirical investigations" (the Payne Fund Studies) concerning the influence of motion pictures upon human behavior which, as the author says in his preface, he was asked to make by "representatives of the motion-picture producers." The original report is presented in this book in "a somewhat extended form," as the substance of Chapters 10 and 11; and, along with a preceding and succeeding chapter of epistemological comment and of critical summarization, it constitutes the second of the three sections into which the book is in reality divided. The first section includes a long survey of philosophic thought regarding the arts—especially the drama, a briefer social history of the drama, and a critical philosophical analysis of "The Contemporary Issue" and "The Need for Knowledge." The third section deals with the aesthetics and the techniques of the cinema. To the extent that these three disparate sections have actually a unifying theme throughout the volume's 686 pages, it is found in the author's enthusiasm for Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas and his attempt to apply their philosophy to motion-picture problems.

This book makes a contribution in that it formulates practical suggestions by which one may think out a solution to the issues which often arise in the conflict between autonomous art and the necessities of social control. But throughout the book, unfortunately, the reader's acceptance or rejection of what Dr. Adler has to say will be predicated largely upon his willingness to accept the particular absolutistic system of philosophy which the author imposes upon his treatment of each problem. Dr. Adler's contribution is further weakened by his lengthy and pompous exposé of philosophic doctrines, his obvious and frequent contradictions, and, mostly, by his unmistakable and vocal prejudice against social science which cannot but make him an unfair critic of the work accomplished by social scientists and psychologists. This undoubtedly must be the explanation for the caustic and unphilosophical comments Pro-

fessor Adler has permitted himself to make concerning some of the personalities connected with the Payne Fund Studies

The Motion Picture in Education, by the Committee on Motion Pictures in Education. Washington: American Council on Education, 1937, 24 pages.

This brochure is a concise review of five major problems which must be considered by any one interested in the development of visual instruction. These problems are analyzed and suggestions are made for their solution which may be followed by the school administrator in his own system, in State and county units, and in colleges and universities. The work of the Educational Motion Picture Project of the American Council on Education is presented and the various materials prepared by the Project discussed.

The five problems presented in the pamphlet are as follows: (1) value of extant film materials; (2) methods of producing better educational films in areas where needed; (3) more effective distribution of film materials to schools, (4) training of teachers to make better use of film materials; and (5) methods of developing new uses of films in education.

Teaching with Motion Pictures, by EDGAR DALE AND LLOYD L. RAMSEYER. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1937, 59 pages.

This handbook of administrative practice deals specifically with the major problems of the use of motion pictures in the classroom. It is intended for the teacher and administrator and it provides concrete answers to the most frequently asked questions relating to motion pictures and other visual teaching materials. A source list of films, bibliography, and glossary of technical terms add to the value of the brochure.

Hollywood's Movie Commandments, by OLGA J. MARTIN. New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1937, 301 pages.

This book, announced as a handbook for motion-picture writers and reviewers, is written by the former secretary to Joseph I. Breen, Director of the Production Code Administration of the Association of Motion Picture Producers, Inc. In her first three chapters the author sketches the history of the demand for films conforming to certain moral standards and culminating in the Legion of Decency and the present Pro-

duction Code. She castigates the antidecency campaign purported to have been waged by critics of the industry's attempts at self-regulation. After explaining the operation and philosophy of the Production Code which keeps all but "decent" pictures from the screen, the author proceeds with a detailed consideration of the various code regulations and an explanation of how each of them is applied in determining the content and treatment of motion-picture themes. Certain themes dealing with crime, sex, nudism, and racial or religious prejudice are forbidden by the code. If a problem theme is considered allowable, it must have certain "compensatory moral values" in order to pass the precensorship of Mr. Breen's office. Major portions of the book which follow deal with what is allowable and what is not with regard to crime and sex as well as a variety of other subjects including animals in films; army, navy, and marines, drinking and drunkenness; geographical and historical subjects; profanity; religion; suicide; vulgarity; and foreign nations in pictures. A final section of the book is devoted to screenwriting with practical hints to the would-be scenarist.

While the book is naive in spots and written from a common-sense and sometimes biased point of view, it is interesting and presents an important slant on Hollywood's approach to its own problems of regulation.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, published monthly from September to May, inclusive, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1937
State of New York } ss
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Jean B. Barr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of *The Journal of Educational Sociology* and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are

Publisher, *The Journal of Educational Sociology* . . . 32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.
Editor, E. George Payne . . . 32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.
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JEAN B. BARR, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of September 1937

W. K. ACKERMAN

My commission expires March 30, 1938

The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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No. 4

EDITORIAL

We are including in this number two communications in answer to an article which appeared in the September issue of THE JOURNAL. We are glad to present these statements because it is our wish to be fair, to give every person an opportunity to present his point of view where a difference of opinion exists. Furthermore, these discussions may arouse deeper interest in accident prevention—the aim of us all.

It should be said at the outset that there has been no question of motive on the part of those responsible for the work of accident-prevention agencies. They are high-minded men who have been conscientious in the performance of their task. There is, however, a question of misplaced emphasis on the part of some of the agencies working in the field of safety, and this question has not been answered by either of the communications included in this issue.

It should also be noted that several cities in the country have done excellent safety work in the schools and have reduced accidents as measured by adequate statistical measurements. St. Louis originally reduced accidents through school efforts and measured the result of accident reduction scientifically. Several other cities have achieved excellent results. Some of these cities have presented those results in the September issue of THE JOURNAL and we selected them to make their contribution because of a knowledge of the outstanding work carried on by them. Among these cities was Cleveland. It was my understanding that the work in Cleveland has been carried out

through the coopération of Carl Smith, director of safety for the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, and the Board of Education through its representative, and not by the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters or the Safety Education Division of the National Safety Council. It was also my understanding that several other cities with which I am quite familiar have effected reduction in accidents through a program for which they are responsible. I did not raise the question about the effective work, such as the original achievements, in St. Louis and other cities, but rather about the part the safety organizations had played in the reduction. If I am wrong about the responsibility of the work in Cleveland and if this has been done by the National Bureau, I apologize to Dr. Whitney.

COMMUNICATION FROM DR. ALBERT W. WHITNEY

National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters

My attention has been called to an article by you in the September number of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* entitled "Contemporary Accidents and Their Nonreduction."

There are six organizations that are doing, or have done, work in a large way in the field of safety education: the Federal Office of Education, the National Education Association, the National Safety Council, the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the American Automobile Association. The last four are presumably those that you have in mind. The National Safety Council and the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters are the organizations that you specifically name. As I have had charge of the educational work of both organizations, I may speak for them, and I wish particularly to answer the criticisms, specific or implied, that you have made regarding these two organizations.

For convenience of reference I have grouped some of your statements:

1. Educators were thus faced with the necessity of presenting an educational program that would be effective in the reduction of accidents. Such a program¹ was worked out experimentally in line with the general educational philosophy of the time and was generally accepted by educators. . . . In no case has this plan been used in its entirety since (the experimental period), and in only one or two cases has any part of it been used at all. We need to get back to fundamentals²

You did a valuable piece of work during the early years of the safety movement in laying the foundations for the proper teaching of safety in the schools. This is generally recognized. On every ap-

¹ E. George Payne, *Education in Accident Prevention* (Chicago: Lyons and Carnahan, 1919)

² For the discussion of this approach, see E. George Payne, *Local Studies of Accidents for Purposes of Instruction*, published as a part of the complete service on Public Safety of the Elliott Service Company of New York City, 1923

propriate occasion I have taken pains to acknowledge the debt that we owe you. Only recently, in an article on safety education, which *The New York Times* asked me to write for their automobile number, I referred to your work as the first intelligent and comprehensive approach to the subject. A great deal has happened, however, since 1923; I cannot understand how you could have made the statements in your article except on the hypothesis that you have not been in touch with the developments during this time.

Most of your program as published in 1919 has been adopted, with some modifications, in the various courses of study that have been prepared. Certainly the keying of the classwork to actual local situations has been an integral part of the program in most places. The collection of data by schools regarding accidents that have happened to their pupils has been an important part of the recommended procedure of the Education Division of the National Safety Council since 1927, and at the present time reports are being received and compiled by the National Safety Council that represent a pupil population of over 800,000 children.

2. There is at the present very little if any altruistic or even wholly objective leadership in the movement for accident prevention in the United States. . . . The leadership of the safety movement is now and has been for a long time in the hands of an agency which . . . is . . . primarily interested in saving money for its members and incidentally in saving human lives

These statements, which the context clearly shows are intended to be critical, seem to imply that wholly altruistic efforts have a virtue and effectiveness that disappear in case there is any self-interest. That is a misconception. Most of the work of the world is done on a basis of self-interest and any adequate sociology, educational or otherwise, must be founded on a far broader and sounder basis than mere altruism.

It happens that the self-interest of insurance companies is essentially identical with the self-interest of the public, for the insurance

companies have a direct economic stake in the saving of life itself. It would be the height of stupidity and social ineptitude not to utilize this great force or any other similar force that can be brought into play.

3. Much money has been spent in the elaboration of the program in so far as the techniques of instruction are concerned, but here the promotion work has been in the hands of those much less familiar with the schools and the work of education than the educators themselves. . . The emphasis . . . has been placed upon the technique of instruction by those less familiar with educational theory and practice than the teachers themselves

It is true that the promotion of safety education has up to the present time been largely in the hands of pressure groups outside of education itself, but the same thing has been true in practically every other new educational movement; for instance, in health education, vocational education, and education in household arts. Even if educators were the most intelligent people in the world they would have neither the means nor the time to develop the public interest and support that are necessary if a new movement is to be a success. It is my understanding that your own entrance into the safety-education field came about because of the interest in the subject that was aroused on the occasion of the Annual Conference of the National Safety Council in St. Louis in 1918.

While there has been competent educational talent on the staffs of both the National Safety Council and the Bureau, both organizations, for instance, having representatives on the teaching force of Teachers College, the more technical aspects of safety education have been purposely avoided. We have felt that the technique of the subject, that is, how it was to be taught, was something that should be handled by educators themselves. We have in general been concerned with promotional work, with showing communities and State departments how to get the work started, and with supplying subject matter and materials of instruction. Any technical

work, such as lesson outlines, handbooks, and material of that sort, that has been published by these two organizations has been prepared by teachers themselves.

There are now 29 States that have published State courses of study in safety education and several hundred cities that have published their own courses of study; seven States have published leaflets on school safety patrols and five have printed and distributed school bus codes. All of these have been worked out by educators themselves. Our primary contribution to those responsible for these publications has been the furnishing of information on the circumstances and frequency of accidents to children, reporting on effective school programs and on recommended classroom and administrative procedure as developed by educators. Furthermore, it should be said now that for several years the Education Division of the National Safety Council has done no field work except upon request. Our time is fully occupied in meeting demands that come to us from educators for help and even then we are able to take care of only a small percentage of these.

We have been rejoiced to realize both from what happened at the meeting of the Department of Superintendence at New Orleans and from other indications that the time is soon coming when the subject of safety education can be adequately taken care of by educators themselves. This will mean that the work of outside organizations will be materially changed and will eventually no longer be necessary.

4. The work that such an organization could legitimately do has been left undone, with the result that the educational program as operated has had little effect on the reduction of accidents.

The latter part of this statement is definitely untrue. Whatever work may have been left undone, there has been enough done to have produced remarkable results. For instance, the number of traffic fatalities to children of school age from 1922, the year when safety education was started on a national basis, to 1936 remained

practically stationary (an increase of less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent), while the traffic fatalities in the case of the rest of the population during the same period nearly trebled (an increase of 185 per cent). This has represented a saving during this period of well over 50,000 children's lives. There may have been other factors involved, but certainly no one can doubt that these results have been mainly due to education. No other field of education has shown such outstanding results in such a brief period of time. If you will study the work that has been done in Baltimore and Cleveland, two of the cities reported on in the same number of *THE JOURNAL* that contains your own article, you will see abundant evidences of accomplishment. The child fatalities in Cleveland, for instance, have fallen from 122 in 1929 to 52 in 1936. The traffic fatalities to children in New York City have fallen from 477 in 1922 to 172 in 1936.

5. We have gone on refining the technique of instruction. Safety plays, safety materials, types of school organizations, etc., etc., have been worked out *ad nauseam*, without ever finding out the specific causes of accidents to the public. . . . Some of this work has been done, but not by those organizations promoting accident-prevention programs; and they have made little or no use of what has been done. . . . This money might have been spent in the accumulation of data indispensable to the operation of the program itself. . . . The methods of selecting the operators of automobiles is certainly in a large measure responsible for the accidents. . . . Nothing has been done to discover what the experience of these drivers is afterwards. . . . If private agencies had begun years ago to devote some of their wasted funds to such a study, the problem of the driver would have already been solved.

In regard to this matter I will not attempt to speak for any organization besides the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters, although other important work is being done. The first serious attempt to study the causes of automobile accidents was made in 1922 by Professor William J. Cox of Yale University while connected with the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters.

This was followed a few years later by the appropriation by the Bureau of the sum of \$7,000 to be used by Commissioner Stoeckel of Connecticut for traffic research. About half of this sum was used in a study made by Professor Mark May of Yale University in an attempt to find better methods of "selecting the operators of automobiles." The remainder was used in what was the first study, or certainly one of the first studies, of the repeater problem; this was based on the experience of several thousand drivers.

The Bureau in 1927 turned over to the American Engineering Council the sum of \$27,000 with which a study was made in the industrial field of the relation between safety and efficiency of production; this was later published in a book of 400 pages by Harper and Brothers. This helped materially in removing industrial safety from the purely humanitarian field and putting it where it belonged as a part of the movement for organizing industry on a right basis from every point of view. What has been done in industry is having an influence in the traffic field where it is becoming more and more evident that safety and efficiency in the movement of traffic are directly correlated.

In the educational field, the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters has made research one of its major activities. We realized not only that research was needed in itself but that the interest and respect of educators could not be retained except on such a basis, so in 1924 we established a series of graduate fellowships at Teachers College, the University of Chicago, and New York University, for the study of problems of safety education. Under these fellowships seven persons have taken their degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and one the degree of Master of Arts. The resulting theses, together with several other similar manuscripts including a doctor's dissertation prepared under your own direction, have been published by the Bureau in an Educational Series. Some of the results of this work have been (1) the development of courses of study for elementary, secondary, and vocational schools

(all by persons who had previously had years of experience as teachers); (2) the establishment of a factual basis, through a two years' study in the psychological laboratory, for a determination of whether fear should be used in the teaching of safety; and incidentally this is the best study up-to-date of the relative values of negative and positive instruction; (3) the discovery that children were coming home from summer camps in worse physical condition than when they went; this study, with an advance order of 3,000 copies from camping organizations, has more than anything else been responsible for a revolution in camping methods; (4) work in an analysis of football accidents that led to the change in the football rules; (5) a detailed case study of the causes of several hundred accidents in the home carried out with the coöperation of one of the visiting nurses' associations.

Almost more important, however, than academic research has been the wisdom that has been accumulated from actual work in directing the activities of communities in the traffic engineering and educational fields. This has involved an experience in dealing with practical conditions that has not only produced direct results, such as the reduction of traffic accidents by over fifty per cent, but has developed a body of tested and approved procedure.

6. There seems to be no hope that the present agencies promoting accident programs will proceed with any such statesmanlike intelligence and vision; for they are essentially propaganda and not scientific organizations. . . . Such a scientific procedure would require money spent in a nonspectacular activity; but this does not seem to appeal to those agencies engaged in accident prevention. Perhaps the reason is that these organizations thrive upon sensational publicity, not upon scientific study and results.

These statements are untrue. They can best be answered by considering the special case referred to under 7.

7 A recent program promoted by the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters illustrates the point of view presented here;

namely, the proposal to train high-school students in safe driving . . . Even if a program of safe driving could be carried out in all the high schools of America (and they cannot and will not) we would deal only with a limited number of the future drivers, and, so far as we know, those who would drive safely anyway. . . . The program is an interesting publicity stunt, but bears no essential relation to the accident situation in the United States in the year 1937. Moreover, it will likely retard the development of a program that would get at the roots of the accident situation.

The good driving program in high schools has already developed far enough, with several thousand schools actually engaged in the work, every one, for instance, of the 27 secondary schools in Bergen County, N J, to show that it will be an extremely important influence in the traffic safety field. The statement that this was conceived as a publicity stunt is absurd. The Bureau's interest in accident prevention is direct and straightforward; we are concerned with those things that will save lives. We have invested nearly half a million dollars in supporting the educational work of the National Safety Council because we felt that in this way we could secure the greatest results; the work has brought very little publicity to the Bureau; probably not one person in a hundred that has benefited by the service has been aware that it was being supported by the Bureau. In the work that the Bureau has done directly, it has in practically every case arranged to let others have the credit, because in that way and only in that way can the most effective results be secured. It has, for instance, written, published, and distributed 65,000 copies of a pamphlet entitled "Creating Safer Communities," a guide for communities desiring to start traffic safety work, but these have been brought out in the form of official State documents by some 29 States; they have been published in the name of the State and any reference to the Bureau has been quite incidental.

We have up to date sold and received orders for approximately 80,000 copies of our textbook for high schools, *Man and the Motor Car*. More than half of these have come out in the form of special editions with our name as publisher removed from the title page

and another name inserted as, for instance, that of the Board of Education of Detroit for the 20,000 copies that have so far been taken by that city. The public feels that insurance companies have a social responsibility for the saving of lives; in the matter of publicity we have been satisfied with making the public reasonably aware that we were on the job.

8. Two other studies worthy of note illustrate the sort of attack on the problem of accidents likely to get results . . . Professor Lloyd^a of New York University in 1933 made a study of the prevalence and nature of accidents and injuries in physical-education activities in the secondary schools. . . . In 1935 Professor Eastwood^a continued this study in the college field. . . . Aside from these studies, little scientific research into the causes of accidents to the public has been made.

Is it possible that you did not realize that both the study of Professor Lloyd and that of Professor Eastwood were made under fellowships furnished by the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters? The help that was given consisted partly of cash, partly of the making of extensive statistical compilations, and partly in the furnishing of traveling expenses. Dr. Lloyd's thesis was published in full as one of our educational series.

Your main thesis is that the traffic safety movement has been mismanaged because more time and money have not been spent on the study of causes. In my opinion it has on the other hand been conducted with excellent judgment and effect. It has very properly directed its main efforts up to the present time along the line of promotional work because actual experience in a number of communities has shown that on the basis of what we now know a fifty to seventy-five per cent reduction in traffic accidents can be had. Much, however, still needs to be known and excellent research work is now going along many lines.

There is one point in your article with which I can agree and which I think you have handled excellently; namely, the need for

^a See theses abstracts 1933-1935, School of Education, New York University.

more work with adults to supplement the direct work with children. I am happy to say that this is now being taken over as the *magnum opus* of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. This organization is now throwing its great strength into the safety movement with fine effect.

PROGRAM OF THE
EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY SECTION OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Atlantic City

LUNCHEON MEETING, Tuesday, December 28, 1937

Chairman, LESLIE DAY ZELENY, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minnesota

"Next Steps in Educational Sociology," C. C. PETERS, Pennsylvania State College

* * * *

PANEL, Wednesday, December 29, 1.00-3.00

"Social Process in School and Community Relationships," LESLIE DAY ZELENY, *chairman*

"Cooperation in the Classroom," DOROTHY R. CLEMENT, Atlantic City Public Schools

"Motion-Picture Influence Modified by Community Backgrounds," PAUL G. CRESSEY, New York University

"The Teacher in the Community," LLOYD ALLEN COOK, Ohio State University

* * * *

PANEL, Thursday, December 30, 1.00-3.00

"Nationalism's Challenge to Education," FRANCIS J. BROWN, School of Education, New York University—*Program chairman*

"The Philosophies and Techniques of Propaganda," MICHAEL CHOUKAS, Dartmouth College

"Nonschool Agencies: Instruments of Nationalism and Internationalism," O. W. RIZGEL, Washington and Lee University

"The Public School: An Agency of Nationalism or Internationalism," I. D. TAUBENBERG, Bronxville Public Schools, Bronxville, New York

COMMUNICATION FROM W. H. CAMERON

Managing Director, National Safety Council

[EDITOR'S NOTE: No further comment is needed by the author of the original article since no evidence is presented that invalidates the statements contained therein. It is well, however, to indicate the point of view presented. First, we have no factual evidence that the accident-prevention agencies are responsible for whatever reduction in accidents that has taken place in special fields, and the reduction may have been the result of the operation of natural social forces. Second, in the field of automotive and home accidents, the work that has been done has been ill-conceived. Third, the educational program has been diverted from the original emphasis and has dealt with the spectacular and not with the fundamentals of the program which would have guaranteed results.]

Students in the field of safety education have noted with pleasure that the entire issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY for September 1937 is devoted to a discussion of Education in Accident Prevention.

Educators have always been aware of the indispensable role that they must play in the eventual solution of the accident problem. Their contributions have been invaluable. The articles appearing in this magazine again reflect their deep concern and their desire that accident prevention be recognized as "one of the major objectives of education."

Scientific methods in safety education have been evolved through the cooperation of educators with public-safety organizations. Through experimentation educators have pointed the way to the use of psychology tests in accident clinics; accident-prevention agencies have been quick to put these suggestions into practice. The percentages of decrease in the various categories of accidents may seem small when the whole problem is reviewed statistically. Of course, no one taking an active part in this work has ever been satisfied so far with the results of safety education or with the adequacy of the methods used. Yet it would be difficult to believe that the strenuous

efforts which have been expended to make this a safer America have not had far-reaching effects—and effects that can be measured.

It is startling to find among the articles in *THE JOURNAL*, which for the most part acknowledge the effectiveness of the part being played by safety organizations, one entitled "Contemporary Accidents and Their Nonreduction" in which the author, Professor E. George Payne, doubts "whether the accident-prevention agencies have affected the situation favorably at all." If the arguments upon which "this rather sweeping statement" is based are accepted as constructive criticism, the article deserves our careful consideration. As a leader in the safety movement, the National Safety Council welcomes any practicable suggestion that will advance the cause of safety. Let us see how Professor Payne substantiates his opinion.

Let us consider first the opinion expressed that efforts to achieve safety have actually had no effect on the accident situation. Such a statement probably results from a superficial observation of three facts. What are these facts and what do they really mean?

First, more people were killed in accidents in 1936 than in 1913. The increase, however, is confined to the motor-vehicle classification. Deaths from accidents other than motor vehicles were actually fewer in 1936 than in 1913, in spite of the tremendous increase in population.

Second, motor-vehicle deaths have increased tremendously in the past twenty-five years. However, increased accidents have resulted from increased use. The death rate based on car registration was less than half as high in 1936 as it was in 1913.

Third, deaths from falls have increased considerably. This advance reflects largely the changing character of our population. Older people are especially susceptible to falls; and we now have many more older people than we had twenty-five years ago.

On the positive side, however, what may be said about the results of safety effort? Consider these facts, which are only representative of others that might be cited:

Industrial fatalities are less than half now what they were twenty-five years ago. The cumulative effect of gradual reductions has meant a saving of 270,000 lives and the prevention of 27,000,000 disabling injuries.

Fatalities on steam railroads have been cut in half since 1913. Reductions in passenger and employee fatalities have been even greater.

Since 1922, when safety-education work was started on a national scale, the accidental death rate of children 5 to 14 years has been reduced 15 per cent, in the face of a 24 per cent increase for persons of all ages. Even in motor-vehicle accidents, where the rate for all ages more than doubled during these years, the rate for school children declined.

While the *number* of motor-vehicle deaths has increased, the *death rate*, based on usage of cars, was 11 per cent lower in 1936 than it was in 1927.

Sixteen States and 116 cities (over 10,000) not in those States, representing nearly 55,000,000 people, reduced motor-vehicle deaths in 1936, in spite of increased car usage.

The death rate in scheduled flying has been reduced 52 per cent since 1930.

Is more proof needed that the accident-prevention agencies—and the millions of people supporting those agencies—have produced results? Not ideal results, of course, but results that prove beyond any doubt the effectiveness of safety programs being conducted in countless industrial plants, in progressive cities and States, in schools, and in many other units of our national life.

So much for results. Now, what of methods? Have procedures been followed which fit the accident problem?

Let us start with Dr. Payne's own analysis. He stresses three requirements: selecting and training of drivers, education of the youth and adult public, and scientific investigation of accident causes, localized and made available in every community. Are those

responsible for accident prevention working along these lines?

Control of automobile operators is essentially a function of the State. That control is exercised through drivers' license laws. All of the accident-prevention agencies have worked vigorously for the passage of such laws. As a result of these efforts 13 States adopted license laws in their 1937 legislatures.

Safety organizations are not content with the passage of laws. The National Safety Council, as well as other organizations, have competent engineers spending full time with State authorities to improve methods of examination, record systems that will determine the incompetent driver, and other parts of the control program.

The training of high-school students in safe driving, while not the whole solution, is certain to prove a step in the right direction. The extension of such courses into the colleges is also an appropriate part of any general program for selection and training of drivers.

What about a national program of adult education? Accident-prevention organizations believe wholeheartedly in the necessity of such education. They believe that it must be carried out through both the written word and the spoken word; through safety congresses and conferences; through pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines; through the radio; and through every other available channel of distribution.

Of no less importance is education through our school systems. School executives are today tremendously more interested in safety than ever before. Associations of educators have insisted on the inclusion of accident prevention in their activities. State associations of county superintendents are bringing safety into the rural schools of America.

Surely, it cannot be said that accident-prevention agencies have neglected the educational side of safety. But, Dr. Payne asks, is the education based on sound principles? Have scientific studies and investigations been made so that safety efforts will not be misdirected? The answer is an emphatic YES. Let us review some of the current activities.

In the field of industrial safety, attention may be called to the 68 safety codes, which were the result of arduous work by competent safety engineers who were unwilling that the safety efforts of American industry be nullified by lack of agreement on the best methods.

In the public-safety field, the development of the Uniform Vehicle Code is only one example of scientific examination of a problem for the purpose of determining the best methods for all to follow.

Efforts for traffic safety in many localities have also been substantiated by traffic surveys, in which expert study of the community's hazards have been made, leaving practically nothing to guesswork in the carrying out of a prevention program.

The National Safety Council has always had special committees at work investigating the more difficult problems and developing procedures. Eminent engineers, government officials, and others are now working in a number of committees, the very mention of which indicates the fundamental character of the work undertaken: the Committee on Speeds and Accidents; the Committee on Tests for Driver Intoxication; the Committee on the Pedestrian Problem; the Committee on the Night Accident Problem; the Committee on Accident Records; the Committee on Traffic Violations and Accidents; etc.

The collection, analysis, and use of accident reports, on a localized basis, have been the keystone of all the National Safety Council's work. Uniform recommendations have been prepared, published, and widely disseminated. Standard plans for accident analysis are available for police departments, State motor-vehicle departments, vital statistics agencies, etc. Dr. Payne stresses, and rightly so, the importance of local studies, made available to teachers. Local studies of traffic accidents are available in several hundred of the larger cities and in a large and increasing number of States, largely through the persistent efforts of the National Safety Council and other accident-prevention organizations. In the specific field of school safety, the National Safety Council has, for ten years, sponsored a

standard reporting system for school-child accidents, which provides exactly the kind of information needed to make an effective approach to the student-accident problem. During the last school year, this standard system was used in schools with an enrollment exceeding 800,000.

From this brief review of methods, it appears that there is a startling similarity between what Dr. Payne thinks should be done to solve the accident problem and what is actually being done by the National Safety Council, by States, cities, industries, and all others who are engaged in the tremendous task of making a safer America.

Of course no one who takes an intelligent interest in safety will be satisfied that this is enough. The fight for accident prevention must be constantly intensified and new support solicited. All groups must endeavor to understand each other's problems. There must be no lack of confidence on the part of any faction that in the light of our present knowledge effort has been wasted or methods proved unsound. Only through coöperation and mutual trust can the safety movement hope to satisfy the constant vital need for new knowledge and for new enlistments for its fight against accidents

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND BEHAVIOR PATTERNING

WALTER C. RECKLESS

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The juvenile delinquent can be viewed as a youth who has witnessed a special, although by no means abnormal, child development, contingent in large part on the social or cultural process of behavior patterning.

Beginning of misconduct and delinquency. Just how early misconduct in children appears is not known exactly but in our civilization and society infractions are abundantly present in the social life of preschool children. The situational factors under which misconduct arises are likewise imperfectly known but this much is known; namely, that it is not the behavior of the child *per se* which makes misbehavior but rather the rules of the family or substitute group which define misbehavior. Misconduct in the young child is misconduct in the eyes of adults and their culture patterns and not necessarily in terms of the attitudes of the child. Misbehavior is, therefore, a function of the impact of the patterning forces at work in the social environment of the child. This statement assumes that the behavior of the child, regardless of original material, can be patterned so as to reduce or exaggerate misconduct.

There is a strong suspicion that the sources of later delinquencies hark back to maladjustments in the family—to something faulty or wrong with the patterning process. But there is also strong suspicion that the behavior problems in the family may have little to do with later delinquencies and that the latter arise in the neighborhood situation—in the world beyond the family. At any rate, in our society the child must graduate to a world outside the home before misconduct becomes official or unofficial delinquency. It is at this point that the legal definitions and jurisdictions apply to behavior. In America cases of children under six years of age appearing in courts

for delinquency are rare indeed. The most recent coverage on juvenile-court statistics for the country as a whole reveals that only 6 per cent of the cases of delinquent children are under 10 years of age.

Case studies, giving the behavior situations in detail, are certainly needed for delinquent children under ten years of age, so as to be able to decipher more clearly the continuity of early misconduct in the family and neighborhood and its carry-over into later delinquencies. As it is now, we merely make conjectures and do not have the behavior sequence of misconduct growth before us. And at the same time we have no positive answer to whether the sources of delinquency trace back more to the early family than neighborhood situation of the young child or vice versa.

Maturation of delinquent careers. The process of misconduct growth does not cease when it emerges into initial delinquencies, because we have in our society the phenomenon of recidivism. The percentage of recidivists in the juvenile-court cases of any given year is reported to be small, only 25 per cent in the last reckoning by the Children's Bureau. It is doubtful whether this figure gives a true indication of the extent of cumulative recidivism among children between 6 and 18 years of age (the age span of juvenile-court jurisdiction in most instances). Nevertheless, the sizable minority of delinquent children, which continues on and on, constitutes the crux of the delinquency problem, since from these children are recruited the ones who climb from the lower into the higher brackets of delinquency patterning and graduate into professional criminal careers. Shaw found abundant evidence for the emergence of criminal careers in the cases he studied. He called this a process of summation. Sutherland calls it a process of maturation and note also that the criminal age is not chronological age but rather the extent of sophistication in crime. If there is any such thing as a typical criminal, forgetting the statistical mode for the moment, it is probably the young adult criminal who has come up through the ranks of early delinquency patterning and has graduated into crime as a profes-

sion. It was suggested that we need detailed case studies to indicate the carry-over from early misconduct to later delinquencies. But we need also a wealth of life histories which can depict the process of later maturation of criminal careers and the cumulative patterning incident to it.

The age curve in delinquency. A further examination of the statistics on delinquency indicates that as age increases so does the percentage of juvenile offenders. There are more delinquent children 10 to 12 years of age than under 10, more 12 to 14 than 10 to 12, and so on. Each successive age group—and for that matter each successive year of child life—has a higher proportion delinquent. If the criminal-court cases are included along with the juvenile-court cases, the curve of delinquency will be found to increase sharply with advancing age until about 24 years of age, after which there is a long tapering decrease.

Differentials in delinquency. Boys get started in delinquency earlier than girls, which fact reflects the condition that our society, through its cultural patterns, accords greater latitude of movement and activity to young boys than to young girls. The same explanation probably accounts for the fact that several times as many boys become delinquent as girls. Boys run more risks of getting caught from gang activities and street play. The likelihood of a boy getting caught and arraigned for misconduct in our socio-legal system is also much greater than that of a girl.

The race differential in delinquency rates, as between white and Negro, is also understandable in cultural and sociological terms. Negro children do not have the same advantages for patterning according to the ways of the dominant legal and moral order as white children have. Negro children are more liable to arrest, as is true probably of underprivileged persons and members of minority groups in advanced countries.

The urban-rural differences in rates of delinquency suggest that the city child has more opportunities to get into trouble, lives in a

community that has more legal and extrafamilial rules to violate, and stands a greater chance of having his behavior legally noticed. The rural offenders show a higher proportion of crime against the person than do city offenders, while the latter have a higher proportion of crimes against property (except arson) than the former. These conditions reflect differences in the patterns of the socio-legal culture of urban and rural life.

The companionship factor. In our society boys run in gangs and neighborhood play groups as soon as they get release from the apron strings. Thrasher has pointed out that the gang is a very potent factor in delinquency, especially in the interstitial neighborhoods of the city. The activity patterns of a gang bring the boy into conflict with the standards of the dominant legal, educational, and family order of our society. For certain classes of urban boys the gang order continues in their lives from early youth through adolescence into adulthood in an almost unbroken sequence. Further sociological studies need to be made to indicate the extent to which gang life reaches all boys in the urban neighborhoods in which gangs seem to be so prevalent. Such studies might throw light on what happens to boys, as far as delinquency is concerned, who do not participate in gangs or who belong to gangs whose activity patterns are not at such variance with the dominant legal and moral order.

Shaw and McKay have called attention to the fact that delinquency of urban boys is in the great majority of instances group activity—the activity of a twosome, a threesome, a foursome. Lone-wolf offenders in the Chicago juvenile-court cases only constitute 18 to 26 per cent of the total delinquent boy sample. Isolating the stealing offenses, Shaw and McKay found that lone offenders constituted even a smaller minority—11 per cent. Further studies of the companionship factor in boy delinquency should indicate whether lone-wolf offenders become more or less prevalent as age increases and how much the rate of lone offenders varies for boys of different income, racial, and nationality levels of the population.

Delinquency areas as a locus of patterning. By use of spot maps, area and zone rate maps, and gradients, Shaw and associates have shown that official delinquency is highest in the near central urban neighborhoods and decreases in the decentralized areas. The central zone of highest delinquency rates was found to be areas of declining population, physical deterioration, great mobility, family dependency, and underworlds of crime and vice. The areas of low delinquency rates were found to be neighborhoods of well-ordered family and community life, capable of controlling their children. The areas of highest delinquency rates are just those where it is most difficult to pattern the behavior of children according to the standards of the dominant legal, educational, and moral order of our society. Landesco has pointed out that in just such areas the social institutions of the dominant moral order fail to reach the children who are exposed to the patterns of the more alluring criminal tradition.

The areas of high delinquency, therefore, are the locus for a criminal and gang culture which is not only at odds with the dominant order but also to a large extent beyond its control. It is here that the child finds patterning incident to the culture complexes of fixing, racketeering, political corruption, fences, confidence games, criminal codes, criminal practices, and underworlds of vice.

Institutional experience and patterning. Another unpremeditated locus for criminal patterning is found in reformatory and correctional schools. According to the Thomases:

As adults we have a naive way of thinking of influence as transmitted from the older generation to the younger, and we appreciate the point that it is horrible practice to place young children with old criminals, while influence seems to spread more rapidly laterally, as between members of a younger generation, than vertically, as between members of different generations. The congregation of bad boys in juvenile homes and reformatories has had unexpectedly bad consequences. Young boys seem to be influenced toward bad behavior more positively by the tough boys under sixteen in detention homes than by the old criminals in jail

The detailed life histories of delinquent boys, published by Shaw, give ample illustration of how criminal attitudes, technique, code, pernicious habits are transmitted in the *sub rosa* life of boy inmates as well as how antisocial grudges generate as a reaction to imposed authority and discipline. A master's study by Moorer, who was a participant observer in a boys' reformatory, gives abundant proof, from observational, interview, and life-history materials, of the existence of a *sub rosa* delinquent culture among boy inmates. Among many citations, I was impressed by the fact that the inmates in this institution swap locks which they learn to pick in their under-cover spare time and that most boys learn to pick the available locks very soon after admission.

Other sources of delinquency patterning. Still another unintended source of criminal patterning comes from motion pictures. A recent sociological study of the effect of photoplays on delinquency and crime by Blumer and Hauser, using life-history, interview, and questionnaire material from several classes of offenders, revealed that "motion pictures were a factor in delinquent careers of about 10 per cent of the male and 25 per cent of the female offenders studied." This is a gauge of direct influence, since the subjects claimed they were motivated by film content or cited instances where they enacted behavior patterns witnessed on the screen. The subtle and indirect influence of motion pictures came to the subjects in the form of display of criminal practices, arousing desires for easy money and an easy life, inducing a spirit of bravado, glorifying criminal roles, and stimulating sex desires.

Sutherland has made the point that the patterns of conduct from what he calls public culture, derived from sports, politics, underworlds, motion pictures, newspapers, and radio, are more accessible to certain groups of children in cities than the patterns of private culture which we have elsewhere called the standards of the dominant legal, educational, and family order. The former patterns, which conflict with the latter standards, lead to delinquency.

Impact of American patterns. Pauline Young was able to gauge the effect of the impact of American patterns of life on the conduct of boys in a Russian religious sect of Los Angeles (the Molokans). She found that the oldest group of Molokan boys, all born in Russia and still largely integrated into the tradition of their fathers, were the least delinquent. The youngest group of boys, all born in America, showed the highest rate of delinquency (several times higher than their older brothers), since they had broken through the weakening controls of sect life and had gone American or Hollywood in patterns of behavior. The demoralization of this class of boys was, therefore, incident to the impact of American public life on behavior.

Beynon in a study of Hungarian boys in Detroit indicated that they usually begin by taking coal for their families from railroad property, which behavior harks back to a practice, transferred from the old country, according to which peasant children and members of peasant families gathered firewood from the nobleman's estate. When Hungarian boys are caught and taken to court, a new moral and legal definition of their behavior is made. Once defined as delinquent and once having gone through the mill, the Hungarian boys in Detroit are likely to continue their delinquencies. They graduate next into stealing coal for sale to others—not for family use. This introduces the individual mercenary motive into behavior which was not there before. Then they are apt to steal valuables other than coal from railroad property. Then they turn to stealing money from their own homes under the external individualistic, mercenary pressures of American life. Then they prey on the homes of other members of the colony. By this time I should imagine they are ready for graduation from the colony. Here again there is evidence of a sequence in behavior patterning incident to the development of delinquent careers. This sequence, of course, needs to be validated for class levels and culture groups in America as well as for children of majority and minority groups in other parts of the world.

Delinquency as a function of the socio-legal culture The cultural or sociological factor is present in programs dealing with delinquent children. Juvenile-court statistics indicate great variations in court policy throughout the United States. For example, courts in certain cities will handle most of their cases officially, no matter how petty. Other courts deal with them unofficially in varying proportions.

The use of probation as a form of disposition and follow-up supervision, like the distinction between official and unofficial cases, ushered in a new definition of delinquency. The attempt to handle first offenders on probation and to delay committing second and third offenders means a changed definition of delinquent behavior as over against the general use of fines and commitments years ago.

The whole juvenile-court movement was posited on an attempt to define and treat the juvenile offender in a way different from the way the offender was considered and dealt with in criminal courts. The advanced modes of juvenile-court practice have not invaded the rural and small-town counties in America to any great extent. For example, a rural child in Tennessee is likely to get a commitment to the reformatory for one year or for the period of his minority for his first official chicken stealing, whereas a Memphis boy may only receive an indefinite sentence (a year or two) after his third attempt to steal an automobile.

A concrete instance may serve to show the part which prevailing community definitions of conduct may play in creating the problem of delinquency. In a tenant-farm cotton county of West Tennessee a school teacher called the sheriff to take charge of a knifing case—a boy had drawn a knife on another boy at school. The official let it be known that this was nothing for which a boy should be taken to court. But in this same county boys are committed to the reformatory for chicken stealing. The assailant is not delinquent. The chicken thieves are.

I am impressed with what may happen in a small town and diversified agricultural county not far from Nashville. In looking over

the docket of the county court, there are only a handful of cases of juvenile delinquency recorded thereon. Heretofore cases have been recorded only when a commitment was made. The bulk of juvenile infractions are settled by the families themselves or by the judge and the families informally without any record or official disposition. Into this easygoing county has recently been introduced a psychiatric child-study program. One of the first moves of this program was to have doctors, ministers, teachers, and other key persons report all the behavior cases they saw or heard about in their daily routines. Outsiders, in the form of psychiatrists and social workers with advanced standards as to what constitutes a behavior problem, came into the situation and made the community leaders conscious of problems around them they never paid much attention to before. If a thoroughgoing mental-hygiene program is finally instituted, reaching into schools, churches, families, and courts, it will have the effect of enormously increasing delinquency. For behavior of children handled in the old way becomes problem behavior to report and handle in the new way. I am not suggesting that the program and the new order should not be introduced, although this should be given serious consideration, but I mean to convey the point that delinquency is a function of the patterns of the socio-legal culture of a community, indigenous or borrowed.

In line with the variations in community and court definitions of criminal and delinquent behavior, we need to examine in greater detail the effect of the redefinitions of crimes and delinquencies in countries like Russia, Italy, and Germany. We need also to examine the situation in several other parts of the world where the socio-legal culture differs so greatly from our own. How does a child become delinquent in Russia, in Ireland, in Persia, in China within the prevailing patterning processes and legal framework? To what extent does the age curve of delinquency differ from that in the United States? To what extent are there similarities in the process of maturing criminal careers?

Treatment and prevention as counter patterning From the standpoint of child development we need to view correctional and preventive programs in terms of the imposition of the patterns of the dominant moral and legal order on children. That the imposition has not been very successful is becoming increasingly clear. Grave doubts are being cast on the validity of reformatory programs at the present time. Thrasher in his study of the boys' club in one area of New York City found that the program, although well intended, did not reach very far, did not give adequate coverage on delinquent boys, and was not an important factor in reducing delinquency in the area.

The recent symposium on *Preventing Crime* by the Gluecks contains many concrete samples of programs designed to reach delinquent and potentially delinquent children. The "area project" in Chicago, directed by Shaw, is an attempt to understand how to establish a preventive program in an area of high delinquency risk—in an area where delinquency patterning is rampant. What sort of counter-patterning processes can be introduced and can be made to take? This should become clear when Shaw reports on his experiment.

Besides a better gearing of programs to reach delinquent children and to set up counter-patterning processes, what preventive work seems to need is guidance from delinquency prediction studies. Sociologists have made considerable progress in developing methods to predict success or failure on parole and in marriage. These methods could be applied to predicting the risk of certain levels and classes of children for becoming delinquent and continuing in delinquencies until they have graduated into crime as a profession. With actuarial tables before us, it would be a much easier matter to indicate just at what points in the patterning process it is best to apply counter patterning.

A final point in conclusion. The focus of attention on delinquency as a patterning process in child development in the family,

the playgroup, and the neighborhood bids fair to give more control over the problem than the search for general causes or causes in individual cases. If the process of delinquency patterning and maturation of delinquent careers can be validated, we have a frontal, unilinear attack rather than a diffuse attack on multifarious and varying causes. The patterning process is something tangible — something that could be photographed. Causes are anybody's game — anybody's speculation. Technologically we can deal with a process, allay the process, set up a counter process (as in the case of serums) before and even without complete knowledge of complicated and multiple causation.

A STUDY OF THE CHANGES, FORMATION, AND PERSISTENCE OF ATTITUDES OF PACIFISM

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In February 1936, Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota visited the City of New Britain to discuss at a public forum the investigations of war profits and munitions manufacturing which his Senate committee had been conducting. This meeting was attended by students of the Teachers College of Connecticut in New Britain. Upon the announcement of Senator Nye's coming, the suggestion was made that some members of the student body be tested to find whether Senator Nye's speech would make a difference in their attitude toward war. The plan was to give the students a questionnaire that would measure their attitude toward war before hearing the Senator's address and then to repeat the questionnaire with the same persons following the address. The question to be answered was: *Does a public speaker advocating a certain point of view tend to change the attitude of his hearers?*

The Thurstone-Droba scale for measuring attitude toward war, Forms A and B, was used. The students included in the survey were men and women chosen from the entire student body of the Teachers College of Connecticut. A total of 180 students took the questionnaire on both administrations. Of this number, 75 attended the lecture, while 105 took both forms of the questionnaire without hearing Senator Nye. Fifty-three others took the questionnaire on its first administration but not the second. The scores of the latter group were not included with the group studied. On the first administration of the scale, the forms were divided so that part of the 180 students took Form A and the other part Form B. The second form was administered to all of the students following the lecture. A check of the scores on Form A and Form B for those taking both forms but not hearing the lecture indicated a lack of equivalence.

Form B uniformly produced a higher rating in the direction of pacifism than did Form A. The two administrations were about 48 hours apart so there seemed little reason to believe that there should be any marked difference in score for the two forms. Particularly is this true when it is remembered that the group of students not hearing the lecture were divided, some taking Form A first and others taking Form B first. One group of 38 took Form A before the lecture and Form B following it, while a group of 37 took the scales in reverse order. After averaging the scores of the students on the Form B and the Form A, a difference of .94 in the direction of pacifism was found for Form B, so this has been subtracted as a correction from Form B scores for the 75 who heard the lecture. Such corrections have already been made in the figures in the following table. The table shows the changes that resulted in the scores following Senator Nyc's address.

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF 75 STUDENTS BEFORE AND AFTER HEARING
LECTURE AGAINST WAR

	<i>Score Before Lecture</i>	<i>Score After Lecture</i>	<i>Difference</i>
Form A	6.96* (N=38)	7.44 (N=37)	.52 (N=37)
Form B	6.84 (N=37)	7.19 (N=38)	.23 (N=38)

* According to norms the scores on the scales were interpreted as follows.

0-2.9	Extremely militaristic	5.0-5.9	Neutral position
3.0-3.9	Strongly militaristic	6.0-6.9	Mildly pacifistic
4.0-4.9	Mildly militaristic	7.0-7.9	Strongly pacifistic
		8.0-11.0	Extremely pacifistic

The differences between the two administrations are very small and are not statistically reliable, though the movement for both groups was in the direction of pacifism. The reasons for the lack of statistical reliability are two. First, a small number of students heard the lecture, and, second, the attitudes of the students were already definitely pacifistic before hearing the address. Since a score of 7.0

indicates a strongly pacifistic point of view, it can be seen that the students were verging on strong pacifism before hearing the lecture. This was true for the entire 180 who took the questionnaire the first time. Of that group 35 ranked as extreme pacifists, 91 as strongly pacifistic, 34 mildly pacifistic, 10 neutral, 7 mildly militaristic, and 3 strongly militaristic. The students were already so strongly opposed to militarism that Senator Nye had little opportunity to alter their viewpoint. Small differences would necessarily be expected.

Based on corrected scores for Form B, the change in attitude toward war for the 75 who heard the lecture was secured from the norms given for the scales. Before hearing the lecture 19 were extremely pacifistic, 32 strongly pacifistic, 15 mildly militaristic, 4 neutral, 4 mildly militaristic, and 1 strongly militaristic. After attending the lecture, 28 were found to be extremely pacifistic, 37 strongly pacifistic, 7 mildly pacifistic, 2 neutral, and 1 strongly militaristic.

More women than men participated in the study. A comparison was made of the scores of men and women. While it was found that the women's scores showed a slightly greater pacifistic tendency the difference was small and statistically far from reliable. Similarly the women moved somewhat more than the men in the direction of pacifism as a result of hearing the lecture, but the difference was very small and no conclusive statements were possible.

In the first week of October 1936, nine months after the lecture by Senator Nye, 59 of the 75 students who attended again marked the same form of the questionnaire which they had taken following the lecture. The means were averaged to determine the persistence of attitudes with this particular group. The average mean for those taking Form A was 7.30 as against 7.44 in February, a loss of -.13. Those taking Form B had an average mean of 7.26, a gain of .07. For these 59 persons the attitudes formed in February seemed to persist practically to the same degree. Again the numbers are too small to give statistical reliability.

The preliminary results showed such a large proportion of the students to be strongly pacifistic that a very interesting question was raised. Where were those attitudes of pacifism acquired? This led to a second phase of the study which from the educational point of view is more interesting and enlightening than the first. The 233 students who took the questionnaire on its first administration were asked to write in paragraph form a statement as to the sources from which they believed they had acquired their attitudes. This was done so that the sources which stood out most strongly in the students' minds would be listed without the influence of outside suggestions. Paragraphs from some of the papers will be interesting and indicative of the general expression.

One student wrote:

I believe that I formed my attitude against war as a result of reading of the munitions inquiries. I also think that family discussions have influenced my attitude. I have read a few antiwar novels, which might have had some influence on my thinking.

Another said:

My attitude against war was greatly influenced by reading about the horrors of war and its effects and aftereffects. This was made even more vivid by visualizing the scene through the medium of motion pictures such as *All Quiet on the Western Front*, and others exposing war in its stark reality. Then, too, current magazines at the present time are frank in showing that there is no glory in war. Moreover, present current events such as the war between Italy and Ethiopia make me stand firm in my opinion.

A girl with brothers "over there" declared:

My attitude against war is due for the most part to the fact that my brothers were both in the war and I have developed a hatred for its gruesomeness from hearing stories my mother told. Motion pictures have added to the hatred. Books I have read showed the worst effects of war. I have visited the veterans' hospitals.

Another student said:

My attitude concerning war was formed at home. I have a relative, living next door, who is a World War veteran. He enlisted as a healthy young man of 20 and came back a physical ruin. He was gassed and made partially blind during the war. This showed me that war does not pay.

One declared:

I believe my attitude toward war originated from the study of history and the effect which it had on the world in general. Remarks by speakers and other learned people have also served to substantiate these beliefs.

A senior stated:

The thing on which I base my attitude toward war is my religion. This is the Roman Catholic viewpoint. I do not say that all of my attitude is that of my church but much of it I remember being taught in a Catholic school. The rest comes from my own judgment and my brothers and sisters.

Another student stated:

My attitude against war was formed through, conversation in my home with parents and friends; contact with the minister of my church, who has really done a lot to encourage pacifism; conversation with my fellow classmates; reading such books as *Cross of Peace*, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, and *European Journey*.

Five points are stressed by another who says:

My attitude toward the problem of war was generated by: my family's reactions; pictures of war incidents; editorials and magazine articles; discussions with my friends; and discussions with war veterans.

A strong militarist gave me the following reasons for his attitude:

Books have probably influenced me more than any other single factor. A knowledge from history that the fall of civilizations and nations has resulted from unpreparedness. Conversations and discussions with students of my age and civic leaders have influenced me. Fear of a red plague in the United States.

One student ranking as a mild militarist said:

I've no idea where I got my attitude. I've had it ever since I can remember. My father was an army man but I think that had no effect.

Following the writing of the paragraphs the students were given a second sheet of paper and asked to rate 16 suggested sources of attitude on a three-point scale. A rating of three was given to the source which, in the students' opinion, had a very decided influence in the formation of his attitude. Two points were given to the sources that had had considerable influence, and one point to sources of little influence. If no influence had come from a particular source it was given a zero rating. The following table gives the ranking of the sources as taken from the papers of the 233 students.

RELATIVE RANKING OF SOURCES OF INFLUENCE
UPON ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR

<i>Greatest Influence from</i>	<i>Total Score</i>
1. Persons who served in World War	441
2. Books on and about war	415
3. Horror photographs	414
4. Newspapers, magazines	416
5. War films	365
6. Mother	359
7. Father	356
8. Speakers (omitting Senator Nye)	344
9. History courses	326
10. Friends	319
11. Church	298
12. High-school teachers	277
13. Religious conferences, Hi-Y, Girl Reserves	162
14. Elementary-school teachers	152
15. College instructors	140
16. Organizations, clubs, etc., exclusive of above	132

The items in the table are self-explanatory except possibly the third one. This refers to books of horror photographs, such as *The*

First World War and *The Horror of It*, which vividly show war scenes, mutilated soldiers, piles of the dead, and similar pictures.

It will be interesting to educators to note the low place held by high-school, elementary-school, and college instructors. If it is assumed that college instructors generate attitudes of pacifism it would not seem that students give them credit for doing so. It should be noted, however, that 110 of the 233 students were freshmen and so had not come into such intimate contact with the college teachers as the upperclass students. An examination of the relative influences by college instructors by various classes showed that the freshmen gave the instructors an average rating of .5 of a point, the sophomore average rating of 1.83 of a point, the juniors 1.6 points, and the seniors 2.0 points. This indicates a greater influence on the part of college teachers than appears when the table is first examined.

As far as one may generalize from the small number of subjects included in the experiment one might conclude that:

1. Attitudes antagonistic to war may be generated by an effective speaker. These attitudes tend to persist.
2. Attitudes toward war find their origin in many different sources.

THE COST OF SERIOUS STUDENT ILLNESS' AT YALE UNIVERSITY

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The project here described was initiated for the purpose of estimating the annual cost of serious illness to the Yale University undergraduate. The term "serious illness," used in the sense of financial severity, was defined for this study as all illness costing over ten dollars which occurred during the school year, and includes most of the sicknesses tending to draw heavily upon the purse of the student with limited means. Practically, the scope of the study included illness of more than one day which involved the use of hospital or infirmary facilities with at least one visit by a physician, and of chronic ambulatory illness not covered by the service offered at the department of university health which necessitated the attention of a physician.

The most adequate source of material for a study of this sort was to be found in the existing records bearing on the health of students, supplemented by additional information obtained from the student himself or from his parents or physician. Consequently it was necessary to study recent records, a criterion satisfied only by the student group now in college. Of these the seniors possessed illness experience over the greatest number of years. As of course their four-year record was not completed at the time the study was begun, only the illness experience of the first three years of college could be taken, a limitation involving the assumption that illness during the senior year was comparable in severity and cost with that of the first three years. Further, a number of students each year resign from college or leave for the remainder of the term, in some cases because of prolonged or severe illness, so that the student group had to be

¹ A cooperative study of the departments of university health and public health, Yale University

constituted, not as the resultant senior class, but as it was at the opening of each of the three college years.

The total available study group was determined by using the preliminary enrollment lists of the class of 1936 for each of the years 1932-1933, 1933-1934, 1934-1935. These gave the class composition at the beginning of each college year before students began to leave for illness or other difficulty. The lists were compared and arranged so as to show the members of the class of 1936 who were in college for three years, for the first two years only, or for the first year only, as well as those in attendance the first and third years, etc. Random selection was accomplished by selecting every sixth member of each of these subgroups listed alphabetically. A sample was thus secured of 162 students, preliminary study having shown that this number would result in approximately 100 students with at least one illness falling within the above described definition of seriousness.

SOURCES OF DATA

The student's record at the department of university health was used as the primary source of information. Each student folder contained, besides annual physical-examination data, a record of absence from classes for which a sick excuse was required. In addition, note of each visit to the department, the infirmary, or the New Haven Hospital (affiliated with the Yale School of Medicine) or of a visit by a physician to the student's room when no class excuse was involved was also entered. The issuance of a sick excuse led to the obtaining and entering of information about illness at home, visits to other hospitals or to out-of-town physicians when these interfered with class attendance. Further additional notes bearing on the health of the student appeared to be entered on the record whenever obtained. From this body of information data for illnesses of more than one day in extent or for such other illnesses as may have led to an expenditure of at least ten dollars were abstracted onto the study record form. To ensure completeness and comparability

a second independent abstraction was made for the entire set of records, using a duplicate record form, after which the two abstractions were compared and reconciled. A third review was then made which showed that the previous readings had produced an accurate summary of the data desired from the student folder.

Such other records of the department as were pertinent to the study were also used. The charges made to each student were examined, as well as those made each month to the athletic department, which were itemized for each student according to the nature of the charge. However, the records of mental illness, not easily accessible, were not included.

To obtain the cost of the abstracted illnesses several other sources had to be consulted. The exact length of infirmary stay was obtained from that institution, the application to which of the flat charge of five dollars per diem gave the infirmary costs. Seventeen of the 21 hospitalizations recorded were at the New Haven Hospital which readily made available the complete record of charges. The cost of certain appliances necessary for treatment of athletic injuries was secured from the athletic association.

The name of each physician or dentist to whom the student was referred was given on the student record or, in cases where a consultation was made without reference by the department, the name of the physician or dentist seen was entered on the record at the time of issuance of the sick excuse. About half of the 92 doctors whose names appeared on the abstracts resided in New Haven or immediately adjacent towns. To each of these a letter was written by the head of the department of university health requesting the amount of the charges made for each itemized illness. Replies were received from 32 (35 per cent) of the total number of doctors from whom information would have been desirable. These men, however, treated 63 per cent of the services about which data were needed.

To supplement the information received from the foregoing

sources an interview was planned with each student of the sample who was then in residence at the University. Each man was sent a card requesting him to come to the department of university health to see the writer. A second card was sent to those not responding to the first. The time for which the interviews were requested unfortunately coincided in part with the December reading period during which a portion of the student group was out of town. However, of the 122 members of the sample then in residence, 94 or 77 per cent appeared for interviews. The assumption, made at the beginning of the study, that those reporting would constitute a fair sample of the 122 was not borne out and will be discussed in detail below.

Upon reporting, the purpose of the interview was explained to the student and he was requested to cooperate in estimating the costs of his illnesses. When cooperation was granted, as it always was, he was asked to recall all sickness during his first three years of college which cost over ten dollars. His replies were entered on a prepared form. When he had recollected everything possible and had supplied the cost if he could, the form was compared with the original study record form which until this time had remained out of sight. The two forms were reconciled, before the student was allowed to depart, in such a manner that the information originally entered on each could be identified. Data were thus secured as to the illness experienced which was not on the abstracted record as well as that on the record which the student did not remember. These furnished checks on both record-form completeness and the ability of the student to recall illness.

In five cases it was important to supplement the information thus obtained by further data secured from the family. In three of these the student volunteered to secure the data and bring it to the writer. In the other two cases letters were written to the family. No replies from any of the five were received after a lapse of over two months.

The morbidity costs as ultimately estimated were based on charges

and not upon amounts received in payment. Many students are in part at least self-supporting and this fact must be considered in a cost study of this kind. However, charges made by any branch of the University, for example the infirmary, are flat charges and reductions in these are afterwards made as a result of a review of the student's financial status by the University bureau of appointments. The letters to the physicians asked for the professional cost of each individual illness, and also the amount charged in those instances where a fee reduction was made. With the distinction thus in mind it was possible to obtain reliable statements of the actual charges desired for the services rendered. The hospital costs are of course those made in the usual manner on the basis of service and not upon the ability to pay.

The sample of 162 students resolved itself for analysis into three groups: (1) the 94 members interviewed, (2) the 28 members who were in college at the time of the study but were not interviewed, and (3) 40 students of the sample who left school before their senior year. The findings, for comparative purposes, are based on student years, the totals of which are 274, 79.47, and 64.54 for the three sub-groups, respectively.

THE VALIDITY OF THE STUDY

Test of the sample by means of annual reports. It was possible to test whether or not the sample was representative of the student body by comparing certain details of the sample findings with those published in the annual reports of the department of university health. These are given in table 1. The totals for the undergraduate body are those for the three college years with which this study is concerned. The infirmary cost is the product of the total days in the infirmary and the flat cost of \$5.00 per diem. The data per student year are in error to the extent that no account is taken of students who left before the end of the college year. The sample data are for the entire sample of 162 students.

Infirmity admissions and cost per admission for the student body are low because they include the one-day cases. Likewise the infirmity cost per student year of \$2.60 is higher than the corresponding value for the sample, \$2.45. When adjustment is made, however, of the number of infirmity cases of more than one day, the first named value becomes \$2.39, one more comparable to that of the sample. Differences between rates for appendectomies, tonsillectomies, and herniotomies occur, but the totals for these three operations essentially agree, 0.025 and 0.029 per student year. The admissions to hospital per student year are greater, 0.061, for the student body than for the sample, 0.052. The difference, however, is not statistically significant.

Comparison with the remainder of the class indicates that the noninterviewed group had experienced slightly more illness than the interviewed one. The first named, for example, had 0.23 infirmity cases per student year with 0.94 days as compared to 0.11 infirmity cases and 0.39 days for the last named. All values in the table, of course, refer only to illnesses costing over ten dollars. In spite of the small numbers the same relationship is shown for hospitalized cases, minor hospital treatments, and for X rays. The students not now in college showed values similar to the group interviewed.

The total cost per-student year was as follows. (The term "A. A. Charges" refers to costs borne by the athletic association for injuries incurred during varsity athletic participation.)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Exclusive of</i>	
		<i>A. A. Charges</i>	<i>A. A. Charges</i>
Interviewed group	\$20.82	\$18 36	\$2 47
Noninterviewed group	43 70	42 43	1 27
Not in college, 1935-1936	6.58	6.15	0 43

It is evident that the group of students who did not appear included a larger proportion of those who had experienced many or

more severe illnesses. That they did not come for an interview because of a lack of knowledge of the costs or failure to remember all illnesses and consequently believed their information to be of no value to the study appears to be a natural assumption to make. Knowledge of the nature of the interview had spread to some extent through the class since many of those coming in on the second and succeeding days had learned what was expected of them through conversations with those who had previously reported. One student said "Yes, I know what I'm here for. Blank told me." Blank himself, however, never appeared.

The fact that the interviewing was done in part during the reading period does not appear to be responsible for the disparity since those leaving college at this time would be in large measure students whose homes were near by. However, a greater proportion of the interviewed group lived in the New Haven metropolitan area (7.5 per cent) or in Connecticut and bordering States (60.6 per cent) than did those of the noninterviewed group (3.6 and 46.4 per cent, respectively).

Ability of student to recall illness. Upon this factor in large measure depended the value of student interviews. Data bearing on the point were obtained by comparing the student's recollection of illness with the facts abstracted from the student record in the department of university health. The cost data are those of the illnesses and not those recalled by the student. Out of 92 illnesses costing over ten dollars which occurred in the interviewed group, 13 or 14.1 per cent were not remembered by the student until his attention had been called to them. These illnesses cost \$238.00, or 4.2 per cent of the total cost of the 92 cases. The forgotten illnesses, on the whole, are the less expensive ones, although for this group these included two cases of gum infection and one tonsillectomy. None of the students forgot more than one illness.

Completeness of the student record of the department of univer-

sity health. Only 5 cases (5.4 per cent) among 4 of the interviewed students were found which were not entered in the student health record. Of these one was a herniotomy performed on advice of the department staff after college had closed. One case of prostatitis occurred which recurred the following year. The other two cases were a tonsillectomy during a Christmas vacation and an ingrown toenail. The total cost of these illnesses amounted to \$467.00 or 8.19 per cent of the total cost of the 92 illnesses.

Comparison between physician and student estimate of charge. In 11 instances the student was able to give the cost of the doctor's fee which could be compared to the charge as reported by the physician or dentist. Six of these concerned physicians' fees, 3 were operating fees, and 2, dental fees. In only one instance did these agree, in 3 the doctor's charge was larger, and in 7 the student gave the larger estimate of the charge. The difference between the actual estimates of the charges were as follows:

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Average Doctor's Estimate</i>	<i>Average Student's Estimate</i>
Physician's fee	6	\$ 14 17	\$ 12 67
Operating fee	3	200.00	291.67
Dental fee	2	9.00	22.50
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	11	63 91	90.55

The charges, then, were some 50 per cent higher when reported by the student than when reported by the doctor. The sample is small and cannot be considered representative but does indicate a tendency for the student to overestimate the doctor's charge. The fees, as reported by the doctor, were taken presumably from his records and should be the more accurate of the two. This is true even when no record was kept, for he can still estimate from his recollection of the case, its nature, and his ordinary custom of charging in such instances. It seems probable that the student was often

confused between the doctor's fee and the entire illness cost, although the distinction was always pointed out to him.

THE COST OF ILLNESS

As outlined above, it was not possible to obtain complete cost data upon all serious morbidity. However, enough information was gained so that the costs which were lacking could be estimated with some precision. In most cases it was not the entire cost which was unavailable, but a portion, usually the physician's fee. The known physicians' charges were surprisingly uniform, and but little error was involved in computing the cost of physicians' service when the number of visits was known, as it usually was. For any particular individual, however, his known illness cost was also utilized in estimating the incomplete data as this indicated the range of the fees charged by the class of physicians consulted by him. For the noninterviewed and the not-in-residence groups certain illnesses appeared upon the record which may or may not have exceeded ten dollars. Most of these were upper respiratory diseases where one or two physicians' visits would have raised the cost of them above the ten-dollar minimum. As these were completely unknown, however, and as upper respiratory disease recorded as "U.R.I." or "grippe" usually did not run over the minimum, they were omitted. Otherwise, the estimates made were moderate ones, and were under- rather than overestimates.

An idea of the importance of the estimated data in relation to the total costs is given in the following table. Approximately 15 per cent of the total costs are estimated. However, the greater part of the estimation in the two groups consists of one illness in each which each counted as \$500.00. One of these was an appendicitis operation performed in New York upon a student who stated his illnesses had always been expensive. The other was a case of tuberculosis, the student spending over a year at a sanatorium. The percentage of estimated costs, excluding these, is 5 per cent, a not unreasonable proportion.

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL COSTS DETERMINED BY ESTIMATION

	<i>Total Costs</i>	<i>Estimated Costs</i>	
		<i>Amount</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Interviewed group	\$5,705.52	\$ 709.00	12.4 3.7 (excl. 1 illness)
Noninterviewed and not-in-residence groups	3,897.72	692.00	17.8 6.8 (excl. 1 illness)
Total	9,603.24	1,401.00	14.6 5.0 (excl. 2 illnesses)

The average cost per illness was \$62.02 and is somewhat higher, \$79.83, if athletic injuries paid for by the athletic association are excluded. The average infirmary stay was about 3.5 days. The average hospitalization costs were \$57.39, and when special nurses were used the average cost of this service was \$51.80 or seven days' hire of a nurse. The average operating fee, including the cost of the operating room, was \$115.33. When the student wore glasses, his estimate of the annual cost of these was \$36.46, which is high because of the large proportion of such students who had their initial fitting while in college.

In all, serious illness cost the 162 students of the sample \$9,603.24 during the three-year experience. The percentage of each service contributing to this total was:

	<i>Per Cent</i>
Infirmary	10.7
Hospital	14.8
Physician	31.3
Operation	18.8
Dental	2.9
Laboratory	0.5
X ray	3.5
Physiotherapy	7.8
Nursing	8.4
Special services	1.3
Total	100.0

About one third, then, of the total costs are physicians' fees. About 25 per cent of the total cost goes for infirmary and hospital care. If special nursing care at the hospital and operations are included in the latter the cost of hospitalization and operations amounts to 53 per cent of the total.

The total cost of serious illness was approximated as \$22.97, or practically \$23 per student per year. This value is about two dollars higher than the corresponding estimate for the interviewed part of the sample, due to the higher illness among the noninterviewed students. If the cost of illness among the latter group is further corrected by 8.19 per cent for serious morbidity not recorded on the record, the total cost for the entire sample rises to \$23.65.

The serious illness found among those students who had left college was less than among the others, a surprising finding in view of the fact that illness constitutes one of the major reasons for leaving. The fact of leaving school, making a sick excuse unnecessary, removes the principal check on student illness so that it is possible that morbidity in this group is definitely not recorded. Such unrecorded sickness must be of the acute type, however, since any chronic affair almost certainly would have come to the attention of the department by means of consultations or the sick excuse.

Nevertheless the total minimal estimate of \$22.97 seems large in view of the notorious health of the youth of college age. It is difficult to see, however, where this value can be in excess. The time intervals and population are quite exact. The estimates made for the 15 per cent of the morbidity for which actual costs were not obtained were moderate ones. For example, \$500 can hardly suffice for the expenses of a year's stay at a private tuberculosis sanatorium. The years studied were not unusual in disease prevalence. On the contrary other considerations tend to the conclusion that the total cost figure is too low. A certain amount of illness among the noninterviewed group, with no cost data, was excluded. Almost certainly some of these illnesses cost more than the \$10 minimum.

Incidental, out of the way costs, such as medicine from the drug store, may not have been entered in any record and accordingly missed. The same is true of special appliances not ordered through the department or the athletic association. Finally, the cost of mental illness, not being available, was not included. Even one case of a stay in a sanatorium for a month or so for a nervous breakdown would have raised the cost per student year considerably.

A comparison of some of the results obtained for the representative family study of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care¹ with the cost of \$23 to \$24 determined in the present study indicates that this estimation is in line with expectation. In the Committee's study of 37,766 white persons in 8,639 families surveyed for twelve consecutive months average charges were determined by income and age groups for each sex. If the unweighted value of \$13.54 for the males of the \$3,000 to \$5,000 income class is combined with that of \$40.70 in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 class, the average charge for all costs of illness is \$27.12 for ages 15 to 19 and 20 to 24. Through the courtesy of Dr. Selwyn D. Collins of the United States Public Health Service, who is engaged in further analysis of the representative family study material, a copy of the average charges by sex and age groups, together with the number of persons in each group, in the \$3,000 to \$5,000 income class was made available to the writer. From these a weighted charge of \$15.85 was computed for males between the ages of 15 and 25 residing in cities over 5,000. The income class to which this value refers is probably lower than that to which most families with sons at Yale belong. The annual weighted incidence of illness for males in this age group and income class, for all classes of residence, however, was 0.47, which is comparable to 0.34 for the Yale undergraduate if we keep in mind the fact that the latter value is only an incidence rate for serious illness.

Although the dissimilarity between sample groups and the pri-

¹ S. Falk, Margaret C. Klem, and Nathan Sinai, *The Incidence of Illness and the Receipt and Costs of Medical Care Among Representative Families*. Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Publication No. 26 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933), 327 pages.

mary definition of illness renders these comparisons possible in only the crudest sense, they do indicate that the results found here are not unreasonable ones. An average annual cost of \$23 to \$24 for serious illness to the undergraduate at Yale University is further understandable if one considers some of the reasons for it. A close guard over the health of the student makes possible complete and thorough treatment which is especially desirable when the responsibility for adequacy of care rests upon others than the family which may be hundreds of miles away. Illness intermediate in the range of costs also appears to be minimal in the case of the male of college age. He is either slightly ill or very much so; in the latter case he may have injuries requiring prolonged treatment or other serious sickness, often resulting in an operation with prolonged hospitalization. Further, the proximity of New Haven to New York makes consultation with expensive specialists an inviting source of comfort to worried parents in distant cities.

For the poor student, of course, reductions in costs can be and are made, but this does not alter the fact that for such youths a disparity exists between the ability to pay and what is in most cases a reasonable fee for professional services. As in other walks of life the problem of payment for medical care is apt to be a suddenly imposed burden, which the economy of the student can withstand only with difficulty.

CONCLUSIONS

In a sample of 162 members of the Yale class of 1936, the cost of all illnesses over \$10.00 each was determined for the first three years of college.

The annual incidence of such illness was 0.34 per student year and the annual mean cost per student was \$22.97. If allowance is made for presumably unrecorded illness this value rises to \$23.65.

The average cost of such illness was \$62.02, and was subdivided by services as follows. infirmary, 11 per cent, hospitalization and

nursing, 23 per cent, medical and dental fees, 34 per cent, operations, 19 per cent, other, 13 per cent.

Given fair cooperation by the private physicians concerned, it is possible to secure for a study of this kind a fairly accurate estimate of costs. However, little reliance can be placed upon a student's ability to recall either amount or cost of illness during two or three elapsed years, nor does it appear feasible to attempt to secure supplementary information from out-of-town parents or guardians.

The author wishes to express his appreciation of the coöperation given and interest shown by the physicians of New Haven in contributing information relative to the study.

PRIVACY IN EDUCATIONAL METHOD

LEON MONES

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It is disturbing to realize that, even while the educational philosophers teach the doctrine of education as a social totality, the educational clinicians continue their concern with sectional aspects and partial symptoms. Obviously it is true that in any functional totality a sectional area of the mechanism may go wrong and need adjustment and correction. But these must always be applied as a condition of the total pattern of function. Concern with a symptom of maladjustment but without recognition of the inclusive play of the larger pattern involved is a kind of naïve magic. Perhaps the most valid implication of the march of science is that life must be conceived and controlled in terms of interrelating and interacting totalities and not in terms of isolated areas and enterprises.

Take, for instance, the present tendency to make of speech instruction an academic entity with private objectives, values, and techniques. Speech is emphatically a nonseparable part of the social business of living. It cannot be isolated from its function as an index and factor in the social life of the individual. It cannot be divorced from the satisfactions, tensions, and interactions of the individual personality. It cannot have any place apart from the dynamic experiences of a community in action. In its very nature it is an organic and psychological response of a whole individual in his relation to the whole of his life. And yet so much present speech instruction is predicated upon the conception of speech as a separable phenomenon that can be perfected through formal phonetics, corrective exercises, and breath calisthenics. Even the conception of speech as communication falls short of the mark. It must be understood in the totality of its range as vocal human excitement in dynamic response to the totality of the social environment, as the index and caliber of the individual personality seeking satisfying

adjustment in a society of individuals. The conception of speech as an essential discipline that can be acquired within an educational privacy is a modern throwback to the old days of simple individual psychology.

A similar contracted conception underlies much of the present-day "remedial reading" instruction, a conception that an individual's inadequate reading ability is a skill insufficiency that can be treated clinically and symptomatically. This is, of course, equivalent to saying that reading is a simple skill composed of physiological and intellectual habits that can be learned, improved, and corrected within an educational privacy separate from the larger social dynamics. Such a conception assumes reading, in short, to be a private skill, remediable by private enterprise, instead of an intellectual capacity for a very creative type of response to challenging levels of socialized culture. Of course, elementary factors such as word recognition are to a large extent simple skills. But reading as a satisfactory and productive enterprise is a way of mutual contact between an individual and his society.

Of late a considerable number of similarly patterned texts have appeared, proposed and recommended as the basis for remedial instruction in reading. These texts, accepting the thesis that efficient reading is the ample component of simple logical and physiological skills, offer explanation, direction, and exercises in matters like the following:

1. The measurement and increase of the pupil's eyespan
2. Eye accommodation to different sizes and kinds of type
3. Eye accommodation to variations of printing format
4. Proper habits in comprehension of word groups
5. Steps in the formal increase of reading vocabulary
6. The ability to perceive the central thought of a paragraph
7. The adaptation of text to pupil level of intelligence
8. The ability to perceive transitions and connections of thought
9. The ability to perceive coordination and subordination of thought

10. Training in reading headlines
11. Training in perceiving matters of emphasis
12. Training in good reading posture
13. Training in increasing reading rate and volume
14. Training in comprehending figures of speech
15. Training in reading statistics, figures, etc.
16. Reading diagrams to assist in thought comprehension

But is it not true that in the enterprise of learning to read the whole does not equal the sum of its parts, or better, that the parts separated from the whole mean nothing? When one can read, for instance, he is capable of proper habits in comprehension of word groups; the two abilities are in a sense identical. To assume that you can reach the former ability through separatist practice in the latter is, to say the least, dubious. For the real enterprise of reading must be approached as a totality that is a configurating part of a larger social totality. Neither as a skill nor as an enterprise can it be separated from its social articulation. Formal reading calisthenics must avail as little as formal grammar instruction in raising pupils above the areas of adequacy established by the full complex of social conditions.

Is it not reasonable to suggest that investigation in remedial reading instruction should proceed along sociological rather than physiological lines, that the social tangencies and influences of pupils' lives are the truly valid conditioning factors in their reading? Of course, occasional physiological maladjustments will need corrective attention, but we are speaking in terms of total emphasis and approach. The reading capacity of a group within a community is probably a function and condition of the community life, recreational, economic, civic, cultural, rather than a function of the skill abilities of individuals within the group. The community movies, newspapers, tastes, morals, attitudes, churches, theaters—these are types of the factors that determine the place and level of reading within that community.

Must we not recognize that the state of pupil's social satisfactions, the direction of his social attitudes, the full complex of his experiences are the fundamental stuff out of which the reading enterprise flowers? Reading is not the cause of personality growth or social adjustment; it is part of the very process of personality growing and one of the basic techniques of social interaction. Reading is not at all a simple physiological skill with efficiency depending upon functional training and physiological soundness, but a creative response of the individual in his enterprise toward the social desires. Reading is physiological skill, organic satisfaction, social technique; it is everything that a basic enterprise of civilized society is.

Therefore, the reading process both in general and as individual competency must be conceived as a social totality, as a resultant of the individual's social status, and as a nonseparable factor of the individual's personality adjustment. The individual will rise to that level of reading competency that the resultant pressure of his social life demands. The social rewards that come from good reading, the importance of reading in the family life, the reading habits of friends, the place of reading within the social group, all play their part in determining the reading competency of students. The energy that students will give to their reading and the satisfaction that they will derive from it are not determined by individual criteria, but by the social sanctions of value. The value that reading possesses in the dynamic social areas of the student are in great measure bound to be the values that the student will himself give. And the importance, recognition, and place that his society afford the reading enterprise are bound to determine and measure the pupil's attitude.

It follows that a rational basis of approaching a problem in remedial reading is through a case study that reveals social causes and relations.

Any type of study that takes stock of symptoms and trends without concerning itself with the tangle of social relations is bound to fall short. Furthermore, statistical studies of reading are of incom-

plete value unless they are complemented by case studies that interpret statistical trends. That is to say, presenting statistical evidence that a good sampling of high-school seniors registers on a standardized reading test a ninth-year rating means very little. The ninth-year rating in reading must be interpreted in the light of social significances. What place and level in the actual pattern of dynamic social life does the ninth-year rating have? In short, a person's reading ability must both in appraisal and in corrective process be conceived within the frame of all social conditionings.

Furthermore, a rather disturbing point of view prevails as a corollary of the clinical method of remedial reading instruction. The idea is that once having measured a pupil's reading ability in terms of statistics the proper thing to do then is to adjust his reading matter to the pupil's verified ability. A recent study in reading measures such factors as the index of prepositional phrases, personal pronouns, conjunctions, etc., on the basis of the reading difficulty they cause. The study suggests that all reading matter provided for pupils should be prepared by statistical recipe to the measure of the pupil's reading capacity.

The value of such a procedure apart from its statistical interest appears to the writer to be questionable. It hardly seems reasonable to adjust reading matter to the comprehension of pupils when your object is to challenge pupils to the comprehension of the richest reading matter. Of course there are arguments to the effect that pupils, if they are permitted to read what they can easily comprehend, will derive satisfactions that may make future reading more likely. But the fact that instruction in reading must be a continual challenge to richer reading cannot be ignored. Studies like those of Chapin and Spearman show conclusively that the hitherto statically conceived I.Q. is really a social index that can be raised by the relevant social leverage.

It would be an interesting experiment to take two equated groups of equal reading ability as demonstrated by a battery of reading

tests and then seek to improve the reading of one group by clinical, symptomatic sectional exercises, and the other group by means of a social stimulation that will present to the pupil needs, desires, curiosities, and challenges. Then it would be interesting with another battery of tests to measure the relative improvement of the two groups. Perhaps the first group would show a more obvious sectional improvement, like a greater ability to pounce on the logical meaning of some anticipated adjective clause. But in all probability to the second group would belong the growth that will make reading part of their accepted and inevitable way of social life.

Is it overrash to be sententious and say that privacy in educational method cannot raise pupils above the sanctions and challenges their socialized life offers to their personalities?

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL FELLOWSHIPS

A major purpose of the Social Science Research Council since its beginning in 1923 has been to assist in the development of an adequate number of well-trained research workers in the field of the social sciences. As a means of furthering this purpose, a series of postdoctoral fellowships has been awarded annually since 1925. Recent reconsideration of research-training needs not only has confirmed the Council's belief in the utility of its postdoctoral program but also has led to the conclusion that additional financial support at earlier training stages is required for the assurance of competent research personnel.

While universities and colleges have been able to grant a large number of scholarships and fellowships, nearly all awards have been restricted in use to formal study in a given institution and only a very small number have provided for work beyond the doctorate. It is in view of these limitations on the use of existing graduate awards by academic institutions that the Council has framed its fellowship program so as to include predoctoral fellowships for field training, as well as the postdoctoral training fellowships previously supported.

Predocctoral fellowships for graduate study (first year) will not be offered for 1938-1939.

A brief statement of the objectives and minimum requirements of the awards follows

1. Predocctoral field fellowships. These fellowships are open to men and women, citizens of the United States or Canada, who are candidates for the Ph.D. degree, and who will have completed prior to the end of the academic year 1937-1938 all courses and examinations for which they are eligible before completion of the thesis. The fellowships are not open to persons who will be over the age of 30 on July 1, 1938, or who plan to

receive the Ph.D. before the expiration of the period of appointment for which application is made.

The purpose of these awards is to supplement formal graduate study by opportunities for field work which will assure first-hand familiarity with the data of social science in the making. The candidate should have decided on the general area in which he wishes to prepare his thesis and carry on later research, but it is not necessary that the exact thesis subject should have been selected before application is made. *While it is taken for granted that programs at this level will be closely correlated with the applicants' Ph.D. theses plans, the aim of these awards will not be to aid in finishing theses or to assist in the collection of data as such, but rather to emphasize the opportunities for obtaining realistic bases for the dissertation and subsequent research.*

It is anticipated that many of the approved programs will call for a year's work in close association with public and private agencies where basic material for research can be observed directly. For illustration, a student of diplomatic history might wish to familiarize himself with selected problems and operations of the Department of State; an economist might find his interest best served by what might be called an "internship" in a banking institution; a political scientist or sociologist specializing in the relations between government and business would have many opportunities for an experiential program in Washington. In offering these illustrations there is no desire to limit the proposals of candidates to programs of similar pattern. Different areas of specialization as well as varying individual needs will naturally lead to diversified proposals. The type of program approved in any given case will depend on the candidate's previous training and on his research objectives, although in each case the experiential aspect of the plan submitted will be a major consideration in the process of selection.

Every effort will be made to assist successful candidates in choosing a proper location for field experience, in planning the year's activities, and in securing the active cooperation of government and private officials when necessary for the completion of an approved program. All applicants, however, should submit programs carefully worked out, preferably after consultation with their graduate instructors and others whose cooperation may be required, in such form as to assure their feasibility and to show their relation to later research plans.

Appointments will be for not less than nine nor more than twelve

months Programs calling for work abroad must be supported by a clear demonstration that adequate field experience cannot be obtained in this country The basic stipend attached to these fellowships is \$1,800 for a period of twelve months, with the possibility of additional allowances for travel and other exceptional expenses when necessary. No applications for reappointment at this level will be considered.

The closing date for the receipt of applications for 1938-1939 on blanks to be secured from the Fellowship Secretary is February 1, 1938. Awards will be announced May 1, 1938 *In making initial inquiry, it is important that age, academic qualifications, and tentative field plans be specifically indicated.* It is requested that application blanks be secured well in advance of February 1, 1938, in order that there may be ample time to fill out and return them before that date.

2. Postdoctoral research training fellowships. These fellowships are open to men and women, citizens of the United States or Canada, who possess the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent in training and experience at the time of application, or give assurance that the Ph.D. will be received before February 15, 1938, and who, ordinarily, are not over 35 years of age.

The primary purpose of these fellowships is to broaden the research training and equipment of promising young social scientists, not to facilitate the completion of research projects or the continuation of investigations undertaken as doctoral dissertations Programs of study submitted should provide either for training of an interdisciplinary nature, for advanced training within the applicants' fields of specialization, or for field work or other experiential training intended to supplement more formal academic preparation for research

The choice of place of study is left to the Fellow, subject to the approval of the Fellowship Committee It is required that, before entering upon the fellowships, Fellows planning to study in non-English speaking countries be able to read and speak the languages of the countries concerned

The basic stipend for a period of twelve months is \$1,800 for single Fellows and \$2,500 for married Fellows Supplementary allowances toward the support of dependents, as well as to defray the necessary traveling expenses of the Fellow (but not of members of his family), vary according to individual requirements. During the period of appointment, the Fellow is expected to devote full time to his program of study and not to carry on any other work without the consent of the Fellowship Committee.

Awards are usually for twelve months, but may be made for any period not exceeding two years. Renewals or extensions may be granted in exceptional cases.

The closing date for receipt of applications for 1938-1939 on blanks to be secured from the Fellowship Secretary is February 1, 1938. It is requested that application blanks be secured well in advance of February 1, 1938, in order that there may be ample time to fill out and return them before that date.

Awards will be announced May 1, 1938.

In making initial inquiry, age, academic qualifications, and proposed program of study should be specifically indicated

3. Grants-in-aid of research These grants are available to mature scholars, without reference to age, whose capacity for productive research has been effectively demonstrated by published work. They are not open to candidates for a degree. They are offered by the Council especially with a view to assisting members of the staffs of institutions which cannot at present provide adequate funds for social-science research, and are designed to aid in completing rather than in initiating projects.

The purpose for which the grants may be expended include the investigator's living expenses while in the field; travel involved in the investigation; stenographic, clerical, or statistical assistance; printing, stationery, and photostating; but ordinarily they may not be used for travel to attend scientific meetings, or to purchase books, manuscript materials, or laboratory apparatus. Grants may not be given to aid in the publication of manuscripts.

Before applying to the Council, the applicant should have canvassed other possible sources of support, especially the institution to which he is attached.

The maximum amount granted by the Council will ordinarily not exceed \$1,000.

The closing date for receipt of applications for 1938-1939 on forms provided by the Grants-in-Aid Secretary is January 15, 1938.

Grants will be announced April 1, 1938.

In making initial inquiry, please indicate previous research experience, nature of project, and amount of aid required. It is requested that application blanks be secured well in advance of January 15, 1938, in order that there may be ample time to fill out and return them before that date. The address of the Council is 230 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Improvement of Education, Its Interpretation for Democracy, Fifteenth Yearbook, Department of Superintendence. Washington, D. C., February 1937, 324 pages.

The Fifteenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence is devoted to the topic, "The Improvement of Education, Its Interpretation for Democracy." The book is divided into two parts; namely, the social scene and the educational responsibility.

In the first division it seeks to give an adequate picture of current conditions including such topics as the educational crisis, natural resources, economic security, the home and family in American life, obstacles to democracy and freedom, etc.

In the second part it deals with such topics as public opinion, educational responsibility in the social crises, and principles and techniques of educational interpretation.

The book is a valuable addition to the current literature dealing with education in this period of educational and social reconstruction.

The Teacher and School Organization, by LEO M. CHAMBERLAIN. New York: Prentice-Hall, Incorporated, 1936, 643 pages.

Not many years ago the teacher had nothing to do with the school organization, the curriculum, or the administration of the school in which she taught. Her job was exclusively that of instructing pupils in a conventional curriculum, ready-made and handed to her complete. This is no longer the case. The conception of education has radically changed. The teacher in a modern school is a part of the total organization designed to change and improve the ways of living of the pupils and the citizens of the country and, therefore, the teacher must understand the whole process in order to cooperate intelligently with the entire staff in a common task.

This book seeks to acquaint the teacher, the supervisor, and the administrator of the total task of education. It explains fully the scope and general character of the American public-school system, its organization and administration, and its instructional program. The book is clearly and forcefully written, and is a distinct contribution to the current educational literature. It ought to be studied by every educator, whether engaged in administration, supervision, or instruction.

Education and the Class Struggle, by ZALMEN SLESINGER. New York: Covici-Friede, 1937, 296 pages.

This book attempts a critical examination of the liberal educator's program for social reconstruction, and the author frankly rejects the philosophy of the "progressives" and approaches the study of education from the point of view of the Marxian philosophy of class struggle. Kilpatrick, in his introduction, summarizes what should be said in this review as follows:

That the book which presents the plaintiff's argument so sincerely argued and so clearly written is a matter of congratulation. In these days of confusion of term and doctrine it is a public service to find this much misunderstood and much maligned position so ably and precisely stated. This must help to clear the popular confusion and so to advance the public understanding. American education is indebted to Dr Slesinger for stating his position so frankly and unequivocally.

The Basis for Constructing Curricular Materials in Adult Education for Carolina Cotton Mill Workers, by RALPH M. LYON. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937, 129 pages.

Proceeding on the assumption that the "shortages" technique is "a valid means of discovering the basis for constructing a curriculum for adult groups," Dr Lyon has attempted in this study "to discover the shortages in the lives of Carolina cotton mill workers."

The major part of his book consists of a detailed and thoroughly documented description of the Southern textile industry and of the communities which it has brought into being. His approach is historical, as well as economic and social. The cultural and educational pattern of these mill towns is traced with complete objectivity. Dr. Lyons calls this pattern, "The Village System." This system has, in his judgment, eight distinguishing characteristics, mostly deriving from the industrial paternalism of the cotton mill owner.

Opposed to this Village System is "A Regional Plan." This plan has been derived by the author from the ideas of leading Southern writers and educators who have studied the South of today and who have proposed solutions to its problems in the light of both modern realities and the indigenous culture of the region. From this composite regional plan, Dr. Lyon has drawn seven specific concepts which when compared with

the eight major characteristics of the Village System disclose seventeen shortages in the lives of the mill workers.

For each of these shortages is suggested some specific adult-education activity. The activities themselves, Dr. Lyon admits have "not been obtained by any exhaustive research. [They] are presented because they have been found to be valuable in similar situations. They must be tested and modified in the light of experience in the different cotton mill communities."

In the closing chapter of his book, Dr. Lyon suggests a technique for introducing such a program in a Carolina cotton mill village through the coöperation of existing agencies, workers, mill owners, and educational leaders. He has, he writes, proposed a program based on this technique for Greenville, South Carolina, to be coordinated with an adult leadership training project at Furman University. It will be interesting to follow its development.

Principles and Laws of Sociology, by HAROLD A. PHELPS. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1936, 544 pages.

As the reader comes to the end of this volume, he is left with two general impressions: the almost complete failure of sociology to define clearly its field of study, and the paucity of tangible data as compared with the enormous volume of sociological theory.

This is no fault of the author unless it be the direct result of the thoroughness with which he has attacked his task, "an analysis and criticism of the scientific nature of principles and the content of laws in sociology." For students in advanced courses in sociology and those interested in its theoretical aspects, this volume will prove invaluable.

A Black Civilization, by W. LLOYD WARNER. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937, 571 pages.

This book analyzes the many aspects of the civilization of the Murngin Tribe of Northern Australia, with whom the author spent three years. He, therefore, presents not only original data but shows a critical observation and analysis that is of great importance to sociologists. It is the first book to deal with the amplitude and structure and supernaturalism of a tropical Australian people and, thus to the student of primitive life, presents invaluable source material.

The book contains numerous illustrations, charts, figures, and a map of the tribes and clans. The whole presents a fascinating story of a Black Civilization.

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- American Life and the School Curriculum*, by HAROLD RUGG. Boston: Ginn and Company.
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- Building Character and Personality*, by WILLIAM A. WHEATLEY and ROYCE R. MALLORY. Boston: Ginn and Company.
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THE YONKERS PLAN OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION¹

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The Yonkers plan of community organization, consisting of a central coördinating council and ten affiliated neighborhood councils, grew accumulatively into its present status through a series of cooperative studies made by various groups, the results of which successively pointed to this much needed but unanticipated consummation.

Briefly told, two groups worked simultaneously but independently; one made a sociological survey of Yonkers which culminated in the organization of neighborhood councils, the other examined the coördinating council plan in relation to the prevention of delinquency. These two groups met at the end of a year's respective work and pooled the fruits of their studies. A committee from both groups was selected, through the efforts of which the Yonkers

¹ This is an account of a cooperative effort in school-community integration. The participants in the survey and neighborhood council organization included elementary principals Eljah Parmerter, Georgia King Pearson, Ruth Freal, Agnita C. Wallace, Julia Gregory, Florence Hopkins, Lillian F. Morrow, Mamie V. Herald, Grace Narr, Charlotte Miller, Dorothy Coufos, Burr D. Vail, Katherine Short; directors Betty B. Frye, J. Winthrop Andrews, Anne M. Vanston, Melvin H. Kempton, specials and teachers Olga Schlobohm, Elizabeth Heil, Janet Underhill, Mary Palya, Madelene Urich, Jessie Malcolm, Sue J. Olds, and many others. The assistant superintendent of elementary schools was chairman.

Coordinating Council was formally organized in November 1936.

Neighborhood councils, however, had been organized by members of the survey group during the process of the survey, the previous school year, six months before the Yonkers Coordinating Council was launched. These functioning units sent representatives to the central Coördinating Council, as did other organizations, agencies, and institutions. Under stimulation of the survey group, the organization of neighborhood councils continued; each linked itself with the Yonkers Coördinating Council and the plan began to shape itself.

At this writing there are ten neighborhood councils, all with representatives in the Coördinating Council, and several other groups in more or less embryonic stages of development. The Yonkers plan is therefore still in evolution. Future accretion depends on felt needs.

The story of how the pattern of the plan emerged piecemeal from the studies mentioned and how each unit of organization fell into place can best be told in sections covering the following sequence: (1) the sociological research upon which the plan is founded; (2) neighborhood councils and their programs; (3) junior councils; (4) the Yonkers Coördinating Council, its organization and program; (5) coördination of education and the community.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY IN YONKERS

The Yonkers plan has a research basis, but no member of the survey group visualized the plan as such; nor had any group a definite conception of community organization when it began its work.

A number of Yonkers school directors, principals, and teachers, with the assistant superintendent of elementary schools as chairman, decided in September 1935 to study school neighborhoods to ascertain the influences playing on school children. Thereafter, expert direction on essential techniques was secured from a nearby college, the city was divided into ecological areas, and a survey made on the

basis of eight sociological factors: population, composition, stability, housing, health, economic status, dependency, and delinquency. There followed the making of a base map of every district. Each school participated in this second project. Thus assets and liabilities conditioning wholesome neighborhood life were listed.

No one anticipated even remotely where these approaches to unfamiliar fields would lead. Expectation was that these studies would direct necessary curriculum changes and thus improve integration of school and neighborhood life.

The revelations were so overwhelming, however, that curriculum revision seemed futile unless an attempt was first made to create controls over the environmental factors that continually nullified the objectives of the schools. Plainly, the conditions uncovered in each area called for wide representative neighborhood responsibility. To meet this need the neighborhood council was born. The colossal tasks which confronted these neighborhood groups can only be comprehended by an understanding of the social fabric of Yonkers and the variety of problems involved.

Population, housing, and health. Yonkers parallels many old residential towns, established by north European stock, suddenly transformed through intensive industrialization into a city that has a predominantly foreign population of vastly different traditions, settling by national groups near hastily established factories. One third of Yonker's population of 135,000 is foreign born, 66 per cent is foreign born and of foreign parentage. There are 7 per cent Italians; 4 per cent each of Polish and Irish; 3 per cent each of Scotch, German, and Czechs; 1 per cent each of English, Russian, and Hungarians; 3 per cent Negroes. There is a total of thirty-three nationalities.

As wave after wave of immigration inundated the social milieu, sections were blighted; factories scarred the river front; single houses were crowded with large families; tenements were erected with meager sanitary facilities, congesting the town center and

creating acute housing problems. Yonkers now has more cheap housing than it can utilize; 25 per cent of this type is vacant. One third of the population of Yonkers lives in 4 per cent of the city's area, in poor housing. Here 60 per cent of the tubercular deaths occurred in the last decade.

Yonkers spreads over twenty-four square miles and has many fine residential areas on the periphery of the city, each segregated by hills, terraces, and roads which are "the longest way around." Taxes are paid in Yonkers, while economic and social connections are made with adjacent towns and New York City. The professional and semiprofessional groups of these sections, plus a large white-collar group, make up an immense commuting population. The proximity to New York with its variety of employment, goods, and amusements creates a detached attitude in Yonkers citizens that retards the development of community-mindedness.

Unemployment and dependency. Of 57,943 gainfully employed persons in Yonkers, 23,270 are in manufacturing and mechanical industries. Even before the depression, the factories were no longer able to employ the large foreign contingent brought here to supply cheap labor. "The largest hat factory in the world" went into bankruptcy; "the largest carpet factory in the world" razed the greater part of its plant; the two huge sugar refineries will open no more; the extensive elevator works and smaller shops operate frequently on part time. When the Yonkers Survey was made, there were about 3,800 families under WPA and about 104 unemployable families on city relief. Calculations indicated that Yonkers had 5,000 unemployed youth of which 3,000 were registered in the National Reemployment Service, while 400 were under NYA.

Yonkers has been left with a devastating relief problem and a large restless group, which, through no fault of its own, suffers physical and mental distress because of continuous unemployment.

Education, recreation, and delinquency. During the period of active immigration, Yonkers built one large elementary school each

year to furnish the "melting pot." Later extensive development of high-school units and the subsequent depression brought enforced neglect of elementary-school buildings, the oldest of which are in underprivileged areas, tragically inadequate to serve their neighborhood. Public outdoor recreational space, although totaking a fair acreage, is poorly distributed in Yonkers and seldom planned to serve all age levels. Meeting places for Scout troops and other character-building activities are at a premium. The delinquency record for Yonkers is average with its peak (80 per cent of cases) in the congested areas lacking recreation. These conditions represent a serious community problem.

EFFECT OF SURVEY

The survey and base maps focused the attention of school groups on the problems of each ecological area. Congested localities were completely "blue" (lowest classification) in all the survey factors. The correlation between delinquency, poor housing, and low economic status, once an interesting theory, became a startling fact when applied to "my" school district! Better areas, too, had some surprisingly low ranks. This "homemade" survey brought strong reactions to the surveyors who, by virtue of their professional positions, had to stay on the spot. Such a set-up favors action. Even before the survey was finished three neighborhood councils were operating. The school acknowledged its integrant relationship to the community. It recognized its need for two-way participation in school and community affairs.

The year after the survey (1936-1937) the school group, augmented to seventy members, resumed the work of community analysis under collegiate guidance, improved its techniques, stimulated further neighborhood organization, extended the school community center programs, encouraged the formation of junior councils, and engaged in curriculum experimentation, all of which activities will be briefly reported in this issue.

The Parent-Teacher Association's Part. To the P.T.A. groups must be credited the strong initial impetus toward community integration. Their immediate acceptance of the sociological survey, their awareness of community problems, their vigorous attack on neighborhood conditions vitalized the whole movement and stirred other groups to action. Later in this article it will be seen that the Council of Parents and Teachers played an important part in initiating the organization of the Yonkers Coördinating Council. In underprivileged areas with new P.T.A. organizations, or none, neighborhood councils sprang up immediately after, and even during, the survey. Gradually the functions of the P.T.A. and neighborhood council became apparent and the need for both was increasingly felt. The demands of the Adult Education Department and the Recreation Commission for a broad representative neighborhood decision on school community center programs clarified the matter along this line. Usually, P.T.A. groups have too limited a membership to perform this function alone.

The most important function of the P.T.A. is to bring the school and home together through a common understanding of child growth in and out of school; equally important is the interpretation and evaluation of the education offerings in the local schools. To further these grand aims, the P.T.A.'s provide for their organizations' monthly programs, planned strategically and scientifically for set purposes. The neighborhood council has no set programs. *It meets to consider its problems in terms of committee reports.*

The membership of these two organizations differ. The P.T.A. consists of as many parents of the school children as will join. Other persons may join but they rarely do. P.T.A.'s in schools of diverse racial or national groups are seldom successful in getting even two differing groups into the organization. The neighborhood council membership is made up of the *leaders* of various organizations, agencies, and nationalities. Groups that are not articulate find a channel of expression through their leaders in this way.

Ideally, the neighborhood council is a coordinating body operating only until such time as existing agencies may be established or strengthened to take over the operation of projects. A function of the neighborhood council is to recommend the organization of a P.T.A. or other needed organizations where none exist, thus providing operating agencies.

Neighborhood councils. The first neighborhood councils, as has been said, were formed in underprivileged areas and it can be well understood that in these cases the principals, beset by difficulties of school-building limitations in addition to numerous social problems, directly initiated the movement. In later instances, however, organization was motivated by forces outside of the school. In one case, a progressive group, realizing the problems in its neighborhood, went to the school head and suggested a council; in another, the local clergy and an influential parent offered to coöperate with a principal in forming a council; in several neighborhoods the P.T.A. leaders initiated the movement; and in another, although the principal set up the techniques of organization, there was neighborhood readiness, for some men in this underprivileged area exclaimed at the first meeting, "We were wondering why we didn't have a neighborhood council like the other schools!"

In residential districts, neighborhood councils were more slowly formed. These groups seem less aware of their own social problems, or perhaps, because of the general comfort of their lives, they unconsciously postpone facing certain issues. Then, too, they are so far removed from the undesirable conditions of the underprivileged areas that they feel no keen responsibility for problems of city-wide proportions. These outlying residential sections, however, differ greatly in community-mindedness. The successful neighborhood councils operating in some of the localities show by the scope of their programs the high quality of awareness evidenced.

Junior councils. The need for prepared community leadership is clearly evident to all who are participating in the present move-

ment. For this reason and because the environment set up for the child is their present concern, junior councils are being formed in the schools. At this time, there are sixteen junior councils in our twenty-six elementary schools. Some are briefly described in another section of this issue; all are still in an experimental stage.

EVALUATION

Each of the operating neighborhood councils, with details of its organization, program, and evaluation, is sketched in the following article. All of these units are young, ranging from several months to a little over a year. Each has its own unique neighborhood situation to meet, its own level of leadership; yet all are united on the one issue that brought them into being: the need for safeguarding children through an improved environment.

It may seem to the critic that these councils are engaged on surface problems and that their objective achievements are not deeply rooted. Yet the gain is immense if computed in terms of social growth: the greater spread of responsibility for child welfare; the amount of new leadership uncovered; the sum total of participation by new sections of population heretofore unrecognized; the awakened interest in community problems; the development of a spirit of neighborliness through group work and play; the increase of social understanding on the part of school persons who have entered into this community work; the coördination of professional and lay resources; the wider vision through contacts in coöperation with the Yonkers Coördinating Council.

From all these efforts will emerge stronger social techniques, higher standards of community life, an environment better suited to the needs of wholesome child life.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS OF YONKERS

RUNYON HEIGHTS NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 1

Dorothy Coufos, *Principal*

The Runyon Heights Neighborhood Council was initiated in May 1936 at Public School 1 because of the meager environmental resources and the inadequacy of the school building. Situated three miles from the Yonkers business section with poor trolley service and the most unstable population in the city, this area consists of colored families of fair economic status, Pullman porters, professional and semiprofessional groups, and also an underprivileged Italian group.

The school enrollment shows 35 per cent whites, 65 per cent colored; 29 per cent of pupils are colored welfare wards boarding out. There is much vacant land; housing is fair in the colored sections, poor elsewhere. There are no libraries, movies, or playgrounds. Civic and political clubs, mostly colored, and one church for each race are all active. Colored leadership is easier to find than white. There is no delinquency problem.

The organization of the council is made up of representatives of local organizations; namely, Runyon Heights Civic Improvement Association, Women's Club, Metropolitan A.M.E. Zion Church, and Public School 1 Parent Teacher Association. Officers were elected and committees on health, recreation, adult education, and publicity were appointed.

During the first year the Council sponsored an operetta, a boy's choral club, a WPA Symphony Orchestra concert, and organized Boy and Girl Scout troupes. This year, through the efforts of the Council, the ragweed in the neighborhood was destroyed. The greatest achievement in the Council's opinion is the securing of the addition and renovation of the school building, a new kindergarten, a portable stage for the gymnasium-auditorium, a nurse's room, and a new office for the principal.

The adult homemaking class has been resumed. The recreation committee has secured two playleaders for afterschool recreation. A large vacant lot with a tax lien has been selected by the Council for a needed playground.

Our Council president conferred with the city planning director and the Council will continue to work until the playground is secured.

The Council has improved community life by facing and working on community problems. This cooperative work for the welfare of the whole is minimizing racial prejudices.

NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 2

Mamie V. Herald, *Principal*

In a neighborhood predominantly Italian, including Negroes and a small English-speaking group, in one of the most congested, underprivileged sections was found the greatest dependency, the poorest housing, the lowest health record, and the highest delinquency rate in the city.

Three large elementary schools and a large junior high school serve this area, none of which have found it possible to maintain a P.T.A. There are no playgrounds conveniently available.

The occasion which crystallized the felt need for a neighborhood council was school-centered. Public School 2 has suffered a decreased enrollment. Fear of having the vacant rooms of their large modern school building preempted by the crowded trade school stirred some of the parents in the neighborhood. The press publicity given to neighborhood councils in other districts caught their attention and several progressive women in the district put the query to the vice-principal, "Why can't we have a neighborhood council?" On November 30, 1936, thirty interested persons met. They knew what they wanted. And forthwith the officers of the Waverly Neighborhood Council were elected; for chairman, a young Italian doctor; for vice-chairman, a housewife, deeply in-

terested in the civic matters of the ward; for secretary, a housewife experienced in church affairs and later active in Girl Scout work; the treasurer, a young colored college graduate, intent on furthering the welfare of his race; the executive, the vice-principal, who has since become the principal. The local priest became the adviser of the Council.

Before the Council was organized there were no successful contacts with the parents. The Council made its first contacts through the sending out of interests' questionnaires written in both English and Italian. There were 105 returns: 33 persons wished to study dressmaking, 15 cooking; 15 knitting; 23 beauty culture; 25 English; 16 bridge; 12 homemaking, 12 dancing, 14 home nursing; with other interests scattered.

In the first year, a Girl Scout troop was formed; a traffic guard was secured from the NYA; a card party and dance was held; dishes were purchased for the school for recreational use; the Red Cross sponsored and financed a course in home nursing for our community; letters and telegrams were sent to the Legislature to support State aid for kindergartens, the Movie Bill, and other bills and projects that affected our community life; letters were sent to the mayor regarding the library closing and delegates and display work were sent to the Convention of Neighborhood Councils. This fall we secured a traffic officer and the Red Cross is again financing the course in home nursing.

Plans for the future include: organization of Cub Packs; securing a playground recreation supervisor after school hours; searching vacant grounds for play space; stopping the sale of salacious literature, working for better housing; establishing a community center in the school. A boy's clubhouse is the dream of the Italian priest. The Council hopes to diminish delinquency by substituting wholesome recreation. At present there are 30 members. A membership drive is to be launched.

NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL OF PUBLIC SCHOOL 5

Ruth Freal, *Principal*

The Senior Council of Public School 5 was organized on January 27, 1936. The membership included representatives from the ten important civic and social clubs in the community, interested parents, and professional groups.

The object of the organization was to coördinate the services of the community and school for the welfare of the girls and boys.

In order to function, officers were elected which included chairman, co-chairman, corresponding secretary, recording secretary, and financial secretary. Vital community problems were discussed and the following committees were appointed: recreational sites committee, school-building committee, adult recreation, and neighborhood safety improvement.

The Council of Public School 5 held meetings once a month during the school year and the achievements were: (1) compilation of a survey showing location of tax lien property appropriate for recreational sites; (2) securing of patrols for coasting and skating areas; (3) providing leaders for school Scout troops, Cub and Brownie Packs; (4) conducting adult play nights; (5) forming of adult-education classes and forums; (6) purchasing of play material for school recreation room from proceeds of community bridge party; (7) showing of motion pictures by community club.

This Council has proved to be a very active coördinating force in the community and has made extensive plans for the coming year.

NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 6

Eljah Parmerter, *Principal*

An old residential section, now a heterogeneous locality with slum areas due to business encroachment; a mixed population of 70 per cent whites of fair economic status and 30 per cent of under-

privileged Negroes of good class—this is the neighborhood of Public School 6.

The school enrollment has dropped; the population is unstable and decreasing; the older of the two elementary buildings was abandoned and the children crowded into one unit, without sunlight, auditorium, playroom, library, and special class. Education comparable to that furnished in other Yonkers schools could not be provided.

With problems of delinquency, unemployment, and dependency, with poor housing, and a wretched school building, it is not surprising that the Neighborhood Council of Public School 6 was the first to be organized, May 1936.

The Council consists of eight local clergymen from both races, both white and colored parents, a local woman doctor, a real-estate dealer, a lawyer, an engineer, an insurance broker, an NYA director, some business men, two aldermen, several teachers, and the principal.

The Council has made solid achievements. The present building is completely and attractively renovated, the older building razed, and a modern unit is to be erected on that site. Use of the armory parade ground for recreation during the school day was secured, and one objective of the Council is to secure this area with a recreation leader after school hours. On February 9 the colored civic-forum group opened a community gameroom in the neighborhood to operate daily for adults and children. A petition bearing 400 names requested city officials to purchase the Pitkin property for a neighborhood park. A sponsoring committee from the Council has developed a Boy Scout troop of 22 boys under the leadership of a parent. A Clean-Up Week with Council members acting as judges, and awards given, was carried out.

The local colored minister who made a Negro housing survey of this locality serves on the Housing Committee of the Yonkers Co-

ordinating Council. Through his efforts and the curriculum units on local housing initiated by the school children, the neighborhood is intensely conscious of its housing problem. The local newspaper has given much publicity and editorial space to this need.

A delegate of the Neighborhood Council reported fully and wittily at the convention of the Council on May 25, 1937. Our Neighborhood Council has joined the Coordinating Council.

The Council sponsored many neighborhood entertainments: the WPA symphony concert in the school yard; a strawberry festival for adults and children for which parents hulled eight crates of berries, and at which a choral club of colored boys sang spirituals under neighborhood leadership; a reception; a beautiful brooch and eulogies for the principal who had coöperated valiantly with the Council. Home talent contributed vocal and instrumental music and luscious refreshments. Warm fellowship and good will marked the evening. In November came a Hallowe'en party, with a dress parade of children and parents, followed by games and refreshments. A friendly neighborhood spirit has been created.

The Council still has many problems. Adult education waits on the new building; a branch library requires a home; public land on the river front for recreation is desired; the purchase of land for a park is another need; yards should be cleared of debris and soil enrichment for gardens is needed; problems of housing, recreation, and obscene literature have been referred to the Yonkers Coordinating Council.

The Council has operated through two years of building turmoil. It knows its problems. It has expanded its activities, enlarged its membership, and improved its leadership technique. There is a new spirit of hope in the neighborhood. Life is richer for both adults and children through opportunities for coöperative service. The Council has developed its own sense of stability and permanency.

NODINE HILL COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 7

Georgia King Pearson, *Principal*

Nodine Hill, one of the oldest sections of Yonkers, is now predominantly foreign. This group is about 61 per cent stationary and contains many underprivileged families. Of 262 school families questioned, 86 per cent live in cold-water flats, 14 per cent in heated apartments, and 6 per cent in private houses. Thirty-six families have no inside bathrooms and share outside toilets. Twenty-eight per cent have no books, 18 per cent read no newspapers, and 67 per cent have no social-club interest outside of school. A large percentage is, or has been, on relief due to factory conditions. There are no adequate available recreational facilities. The big boys "hang around" and there is a serious afterschool delinquency problem in the neighborhood.

The elementary school, one of the oldest and shabbiest in Yonkers, was recommended by a survey to be abandoned and the children transferred elsewhere. Sentiment and the closing of a parochial school have combined to maintain the building in active service.

In May 1936, the Public School 7 Council was formed. Some old alumni, some parents, political leaders, and representatives of the school staff constituted the Council. This group began working for needed school repairs and took a keen interest in the activities of the school-community center which the principal had attempted to maintain singlehanded for nearly two years.

A reorganization of the Council took place in November 1936. Local clergy and realtors became members and the name was changed to the Nodine Hill Council because of its wider community interests. A real community spirit was born. Council committees and their achievements follow.

1. Health and safety. This committee worked to restore free diphtheria immunization clinics to the city. School rating for immunization rose from 81 per cent to 96.8 per cent.

Under the committee's leadership the Council sought action from our State senator regarding effective legislation to deal with sex crimes. He is working to secure such legislation.

2. Recreation. This committee is seeking increased play space

3. Sale of obscene literature. This city-wide problem has been referred to the Yonkers Coordinating Council for action

4. Religious training. The Council went on record as advocating religious training for all children in the community

5. School-community center. The needs for a gymnasium and repairs to the building have been presented to the Board of Education

6. Housing. This committee has made one report as to housing conditions in the Nodine Hill section

7. Neighborhood movies. This committee has requested reserved sections and matron's care for the children

Council Objectives 1937-1938

To make Nodine Hill Council a clearing house for neighborhood problems, to secure adult leadership for the activities of the school-community center; to work for the renovation of Public School 7; to work for better health and safety conditions in the neighborhood and school; to work for better motion-picture programs and theater conditions for the children of the community.

The Public School 7 neighborhood has developed a splendid spirit of understanding and good will. It is learning to face its problems through the service of the Nodine Hill Council and hopes to secure better recreational, social, and moral conditions for its people.

NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 12

Agnita C. Wallace, *Principal*

The sociological survey shows this neighborhood in the blue (lowest) classification on every one of the eight factors used. Out of twenty-four ecological areas surveyed, this section ranked twenty-second in economic status; twenty-first in population growth; twenty-third in stability of population; twenty-third in

housing; twenty-first in dependency (one third of the families are on relief); twenty-third in delinquency; twenty-third in health, with the highest tuberculosis death rate in the city. There are twenty-three nationalities in the school.

Intermittent employment in the carpet factory is at the root of much of the poverty found here and has affected the shift and decrease of population. These people are dependent on all the social agencies, and the school must help to make needed contacts. The children were better nourished when city relief selected and provided the food.

Housing conditions are bad; the toilets in the halls are used by several families; sleeping rooms are often without airshafts. In this congested, underprivileged area there are no outdoor recreation spaces for children in the immediate locality. The older boys "hang around." Gangs congregate on corners and around the poolrooms. Naturally, delinquency looms large after school hours. With such a conglomeration of neighborhood problems, it is not surprising that the principal took the initiative in organizing the Neighborhood Council, after experimenting with the junior alumni group.

Twenty-four persons attended the first meeting on December 1, 1936, and the Neighborhood Council was organized. A neighborhood man, although inexperienced, accepted the chairmanship. The charter members included a former mayor who is interested in this section, two clergymen of the locality, the alderman, the Scout troop leader, three teachers of the school, and several fathers and mothers.

Earnest consideration was given to neighborhood problems. The cleaning of the neighborhood brook, a menace, was an important issue. A mother of seven spoke for safe recreation places, another for safe paths for bicycle riders; the children now take their chances with trucks in crowded traffic. Committees on recreation, housing, health, safety, adult education, delinquency, membership, publicity, Scouts, and social activities were appointed.

Achievements during the Council's first year include a mass meeting initiated by the chairman; endorsement of the Wagner Bill and the Federal Housing Bill; securing afterschool recreation for children; securing a speaker on safety and crime prevention; organizing adult classes in dressmaking; organizing Play Night and Bingo parties; checking the condition of the Nepperhan Creek; petitioning a city clinic for diphtheria immunization; petitioning for a full public-library schedule, petitioning for a safety light; forbidding trucks on streets where children play.

At the opening meeting for this year, the future plans of the Council included finding play spaces, finding recreational leaders, improving schoolyard, checking creek conditions, watching legislation, and expanding membership.

The greatest value of the Council is the opportunity it offers for mutual recognition and local leadership. The growth of the chairmanship has been outstanding. The Council affords opportunities for the exchange of ideas. People are beginning to feel that the Council, the school, and the community belong to them.

NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL, SHERWOOD PARK PUBLIC SCHOOL 14

Elizabeth M. Elliot, *Principal*¹

Quoting from the speech made by the Rev. Bernard Montgomery, President of the Sherwood Park Neighborhood Council, at the Neighborhood Council Convention on May 25, 1937:

For a number of years, some of us in the various organizations active for community betterment felt the need of coordinating our efforts and eliminating useless duplication. We have seen the futility of endeavoring to accomplish singly what can only come through cooperation. We have seen problems arise that fell within the province of none of the existing organizations, yet their solution was urgent. There was also the needless competition that came from knowing nothing of what the other group was doing; of planning alone what concerned the whole

¹ With quotations from the Rev. Bernard Montgomery, President of the Council

It was from such a background that the Sherwood Park Neighborhood Council arose.

The actual impetus which brought the Council into being was a meeting of the Parent-Teacher Association of Public School 14 at which the whole problem of our neighborhood conditions was faced courageously. At this meeting we were given a very comprehensive survey of our community by the assistant superintendent of elementary schools, which showed the great need for certain activities for several groups. We then had reports of what the various organizations already in the field were doing to correct the conditions discovered. We found that before we could adequately begin to correct conditions, we must unite our efforts.

Thus all the organizations were ready in March 1937 when the principal of the school sent out a call to all those interested in community planning. The fact that the organizations responded without a single exception showed that they were ready to go forward. The first meeting resulted in the appointment of a committee to frame a constitution and to nominate officers. A second meeting saw the constitution adopted and officers elected.

Our brief history has shown that the spirit of unity exists in our midst. It is because of this evident intention to cooperate which we see in all our groups that we are expecting great things in the future. We have already set up the machinery to further this undertaking through an exchange of information and the clearing of dates through a local coordinating committee. We hope to discover the most urgent needs of the community and, working through the existing organizations, set out to provide a solution for them.

The Council has appointed committees on membership, playgrounds, clearing of dates, welfare, and program. It helped to secure full-time library service and is petitioning to have the school building kept open for recreation four nights a week for evening classes. Neighborhood playgrounds and a traffic officer for the school corner are problems left for solution.

MORSEMER NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 16

Julia Gregory, *Principal*

This area constitutes one of the most desirable residential sections of Yonkers; deluxe estates of millionaires, the Thompson and Untermeyer show places; the Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research with its great gardens; and many attractive houses in less spacious settings. The sociological survey ranks it in the highest classification except for health. Many residents are leaders in industrial, social, and governmental affairs of city, county, and State. They are interested in the numerous organizations in the neighborhood—a civic association, six churches, Catholic and Protestant, two country clubhouses, a large active P. T. A.; and minor groups which meet for entertainment and study.

A neighborhood experience on a community project created a favorable mind-set for the organization of a council. A group of 30, representative of the section, met in December 1936, talked over its problems, planned a mass meeting, at which the Neighborhood Council was launched, sponsored by many of the most prominent citizens of the section.

The Council offices are filled respectively by a former majority leader of the Board of Supervisors, a former district attorney, an official in a local building firm, a parent, the P. T. A.'s president, the principal, and a doctor of research at Boyce Thompson Institute. The committees appointed are the following: environment: recreation space, safety, housing; adjustment: guidance, relief, health, adult education; character training: Scouts, clubs; Council activities: publicity, rules and regulations, ways and means; membership: research, fact finding, investigations, nominations, programs for Council.

At first it was felt that the neighborhood had few drawbacks but the Council is awakening to its problems among which are

traffic difficulties, lights, safety signs, police protection on the long steep Broadway incline, and trolley cars on the track terminus.

The Council discovered that even in a privileged influential neighborhood time and effort are necessary for the solution of problems. Slot machines in the small shops have disappeared because of Council agitation but eternal vigilance is needed for this problem. Council publicity has made local sellers of obscene literature cautious. Council meetings, speakers, projects, and publicity have attracted attention to the vital needs of the community. The leadership of the neighborhood, especially its man power, has been enlisted to improve the environment of the children. The Convention of Neighborhood Councils planned by our Council president stimulated greater activity in the community and city. Representation on the Yonkers Coordinating Council will give Morsemere direct contact with city-wide problems and break up its isolation.

Long-time plans of the council call for continued work on the Branch Public Library, additional recreational space and supervision, play space for small children, clearing of vacant lots and hills for recreation.

COMMUNITY COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 21

Marion K. King

Due to the good which various communities were deriving from neighborhood councils, some of the citizens of Lincoln Park became interested in the movement.

It was decided that the type of neighborhood council should be one composed of representatives of the key organizations in the community. Hence the three churches in the community, the Civic Association, the Parent-Teacher Association, and the school were each to choose one or two representatives who were to meet and carry on any necessary business which might be taken up through the larger organization to benefit the community.

The purpose of the Council primarily was to bring about a closer coordination of efforts on the part of neighborhood organizations already set up. Four meetings were held last spring. The following list was drawn up as some of the needs of Lincoln Park:

1. Gaining an addition to Public School 24
2. Better transportation facilities
3. Further use of school building for children
4. Further use of school building for adults
5. Enforcement of speed and traffic laws
6. Provision of secondary-school facilities
7. An extension of organizations for children (Scouts)
8. An inventory of neighborhood experts for educational and recreational activity leadership
9. Consideration of street paving
10. Ridding newsstands of salacious literature
11. Better collection of garbage
12. Better sanitary conditions
13. Investigation of lighting problem
14. Investigation of assessed valuation of property

The members of the Neighborhood Council started work on these needs and feel that they have achieved something. In fact we now have better transportation facilities for pupils attending junior high school; we are making further use of the school building for both children and adults; and we are having an extension of organizations for children

NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 24

Lillian F. Morrow, *Principal*

In the sociological survey made in 1935, the neighborhood of Public School 24 stood in the third classification, next to the lowest, on all the sociological factors used except the stability of population in which it ranked in the fourth classification

Lacking are sufficient social and recreational facilities for children and adults. There is no movie house, library, or adequate play-

ground for children and adults. Three churches and three political clubs afford the chief social outlets.

On February 5, 1937, 50 representative citizens met in the school and formed a Neighborhood Council. Officers were elected and these committees appointed: park improvement, bookmobile service, adult education, publicity, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, membership, and recreation. Among the objectives outlined were a community center for adult education and recreation, play spaces for children, a flooded area for skating, a closed street for coasting, changes in the playground adjoining the school, a bookmobile for the neighborhood, and full sidewalks for the school.

Through the efforts of the Council three aims were achieved: park improvement, bookmobile service, and full school sidewalks. In addition, the Council sponsored the Negro Jubilee Singers' concert and supported the Moffat Slum Clearance Bill.

This year, September 1937, the Council will emphasize adult education, increased play spaces, a closed street for coasting, a flooded area for skating, and afternoon programs for children supervised by the Recreation Commission.

The Neighborhood Council has awakened the people to the needs of their community and given leaders an opportunity to exercise their talents of leadership by helping the community to meet these problems. These leaders have helped to unify the neighborhood in an attempt to better it. The Council has developed a coöperative spirit between the school and the community and has expressed a willingness to promote every movement that concerns child welfare not only in its own neighborhood but in the city.

THE JUNIOR COUNCILS OF THE YONKERS SCHOOLS

JUNIOR COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 1

Dorothy Coufos, *Principal*

The Junior Council of Public School 1, organized in November 1936 to provide opportunities for child leadership in community problems, consists of representatives from fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh grades. Officers were elected and committees for safety, health, social activities, and publicity were appointed. Monthly meetings are held.

Our Junior Council has many accomplishments: trips to the World Book Fair, museums, organization of Bingo parties, and a Safety Patrol with a record of not a single child injured during the school-building renovation last year. Council plans for this year call for improvement of neighborhood health conditions, clean-up drives, more Bingo parties, trips to interesting places, a safe Halloween, and a fire-prevention campaign. Public School 1 is proud of its Junior Council and its leadership. Its activities are followed by all the families of the neighborhood.

JUNIOR COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 2

Gertrude Guiney, *Teacher Adviser to the Council*

The Junior Council of Public School 2 was organized from a group of 41 representatives from the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades and special classes. Officers were elected and the following committees were appointed: safety patrol, boys' yards, girls' yards, sidewalks, boys' toilet inspection, girls' toilet inspection, halls and stairs, roofs, anti-noise, art, and health. Our Junior Council meets every Friday for an hour.

Activities included: a vigilant campaign for safety, health, cleanliness, and respect for the rights of others; letters were sent to the mayor and public safety commissioner for police protection; letters

were sent to the mayor and the president of the library board for full-time library services; written invitations were sent to three Senior Council members to act as judges at our Pet Show, which was held during Youth Week; and written invitations were sent to parents and friends inviting them to the Junior Council Tea. New officers have been elected and installed with simple dignified exercises. This year the Junior Council plans for a vigorous health drive urging all children to have toxin-antitoxin, the Schick Test, and to have all physical defects corrected. The Council will continue to promote safety, cleanliness, and happiness.

JUNIOR COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 5

Ruth Freal, *Principal*

In September 1936 the 7A grade, a group of superior children, selected as its unit of study "Our Community." As an outgrowth of this study, a community consciousness was developed and a need for organized action arose. So the Public School 5 Junior Council was formed with this class in control. Members included representatives from grades 4 through 8. Officers were elected by the pupil members; *i.e.*, chairman, co-chairman, and secretary. The adult sponsor, the 7A class teacher, was elected executive secretary. The formation of a constitution and by-laws was next undertaken by this group and aims were formulated. Committees with activities are as follows:

Recreation playgrounds, coasting, skating, beauty spots; *planning*: Boy Scout rally, Girl Scout rally, Brownies, Y.W.C.A., Y.M.C.A., library, work and bookmobile clubs; *entertainment* concerts, amateur hour, sick calls, senior dance, parties, pet show, evening meeting for parents, guest speakers for assembly; *safety*: safety play, safety devices for bicycles, safety talks, junior crusade, school safety lines, *health*: first aid, poison ivy, toxin-antitoxin interest, *publicity* Junior Council paper, communications with civic leaders, radio programs and broadcast, Junior Council convention, talks to primary grades; *improvement* lockers for gymnasium, memorial tree for yard.

The Junior Council achievements were numerous. The committees secured a coasting street; civic leaders for Youth Week; "cub" leaders; increased Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A. membership, play-room equipment and a new musical instrument from Senior Council, purchased a drum with funds raised by a Junior Council Amateur Hour, accepted encyclopedias from the chairman of Junior Council.

This Council cooperates with the Senior Council and provides valuable experiences for gifted students.

JUNIOR COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 6

Miss Aldanita Keough, *Primary Counselor*, Miss Elijah Parmerter, *Principal*; Miss Jessie Malcolm, *Intermediate Counselor*

On December 7, 1936, the Junior Council held its first meeting with two potential leaders from grades 1 to 6 represented. Their aim: "To make the community safer and better; to be good leaders, to learn how to work with others; to be more businesslike; to be better citizens when we grow up." The meetings were held once a week. Aids in parliamentary procedure were given when needed.

A committee from the Junior Council made a survey of the interests of the school children for Youth Week. This was their week and their chance to have those experiences they wanted. More desires were tabulated than could be gratified. After much discussion and planning a program evolved. The Junior Council members invited the Neighborhood Council to cooperate and to be their guest at a large neighborhood gathering where religious, civic, and social leaders spoke.

NODINE HILL JUNIOR COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 7

Georgia King Pearson, *Principal*

This student council was organized in April 1937. It is an active group of elected officers and appointed committees. The meetings afford opportunities for the pupils to discuss conditions in the neigh-

borhood which they could improve by their interest and work. Their chief projects are in promoting neighborhood and school safety and in working for increased recreational opportunities for the school.

JUNIOR COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 8

Billy Netter, *Council Member, Grade 6*

Our Junior Council was organized in April 1937. The aim of the Council is to acquaint ourselves with the needs of our neighborhood and school and to make ourselves and others more active citizens so that we can do something about these needs.

During Youth Week of last spring, a committee of three boys from our school attended a convention of the Yonkers Junior Councils. I was a member of that committee. Our committee thought the reports of the various councils good and very interesting and we reported all we had seen and heard to the classes at Public School 8.

Our classmates suggested that we go to our principal and ask if we could have a junior council. After talking it over it was decided to have two representatives from each grade from the third through the sixth meet with the Civic Club of Public School 8 and change the name to Junior Council of Public School 8.

We held that first important meeting April 30, 1937. At the meeting a committee was appointed to write a constitution for the Junior Council; also a committee on safety and a committee on health was appointed. A week later a special meeting was called and we had the constitution read. As it was all right, it was accepted. Then things began to happen. A drive for greater safety on the highways, in the halls, and on the playground was begun. Then a big drive for greater safety in the spring and summer activities. Last of all a drive for 100 per cent inoculation against diphtheria in our neighborhood was made. A committee was also appointed to help the P. T. A. get names of preschool children and distribute health letters to their parents.

This fall we had our first meeting on September 17. We have elected officers and appointed the following committees: health, safety, and radio, and we have given a fire-prevention program. Public School 8 has a regular Junior Council and what is more it is working and we will be at the convention next spring carrying a banner.

JUNIOR COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 9

Walter Russbach, *President, Grade 6*

On March 19, 1937, delegates from all grades, except the kindergarten, met to discuss the forming of a new council. Having read and heard about other school councils, we decided we wanted one, too. It was unanimously voted to form a council to make Public School 9 a happier place to live in, and to help the children to be good citizens of Yonkers. We learned to conduct our meetings according to parliamentary law and then our Junior Council began its work.

Safety was our first problem. A committee was appointed to take over the indoor and outdoor patrol duties and to report to the Council suggestions for safeguarding our schoolmates. We have had no accidents since the committee began its work. The Council organized and sponsored clubs; petitioned the mayor and aldermen to keep the public library open on Saturdays and to give us bookmobile service.

Our greatest problem is our playground. Our yard needs grading and resurfacing to make it safe. We have asked to have this work done and are hopeful of results. Another neighborhood problem we have taken up is inoculation against diphtheria. Our Council has started a drive to help our principal make our neighborhood one hundred per cent in this matter.

Public School 9 Council has an emblem, a banner, a song, and colors. We are young, but we are growing.

JUNIOR NEIGHBORHOOD ALUMNI COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 12

Agnita C. Wallace, *Principal*

The principal began community organization with the children. Large groups of youths frequented the streets at night. They were invited as former pupils of the school to form an alumni group. Two hundred and fifty youths, ages from sixteen to twenty-five, arrived at the first meeting, October 5, 1936. Two groups under co-chairmen were formed and became the Junior Neighborhood Alumni Council. They wanted dramatic activities and social dancing. An average of ninety to one hundred and twenty-five young people attended the weekly meetings.

There are four committees: (1) *government*: which sees that rooms and materials are left in good order after the night's fun; (2) *publicity*: which gets good space for the reports it submits to the daily paper; (3) *membership*: this committee was substituted for the two "bouncers" that the Council officers recommended; (4) *program*: sponsors activities.

The Council discovered its own leadership—a tap-dancing teacher and a social dancing teacher, also a piano player—all on the age level of the group. A minstrel show culminated the year's activities. Three boys wrote the libretto; singers and dancers were drawn from the Council. Some of the money received from the minstrel show was used to replace games for the school playroom used by this Council. A phonograph has been presented to the school by the alumnus who is the chairman of the program committee.

The first year of its existence the Junior Neighborhood Alumni Council danced; learned "new steps"; presented amateur hours; listened to the victrola or radio between dances; enjoyed games and the library corner.

Space is the greatest need. This year the gymnasium will be available. Chaperonage is another problem. The question of direction,

with due care to preserve the maximum of initiative, is a difficult one.

The great value is to the youths themselves who are off the street. One night a week is wholesomely occupied; their desires for entertainment and companionship are at least partially satisfied, with opportunities aplenty for coöperation and leadership in a decent if limited environment.

JUNIOR NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 12

Catherine Martin and Eleanore Bremner, *Grade Teachers*

The Junior Neighborhood Council of Public School 12 was organized February 25, 1937, to acquaint our school children with neighborhood needs. The usual officers preside over weekly meetings. The 51 members are divided into committees: the nominating committee found the likeliest candidates for each office, the health committee *inspects classmates twice daily to improve school and neighborhood health*, the safety committee gives safety information, its A. B. C. groups (Always Be Careful) act as traffic guards; the radio committee lists radio selections for all grades.

The Council's achievements are: successfully petitioning the mayor for a full library schedule; attending the first Junior Council convention; composing the Council song; keeping records of Junior Council work; securing a nurse to talk on first aid; making a trip to a fire house; and sponsoring a high-school band concert.

The new plans are: forming kindness to animals, attendance, and reading committees; a Clean Your Neighborhood Campaign; and a Safety Campaign. Great improvements in safety, neighborhood sanitation, and general health practices have accrued from Council activities.

The Council members now have gained poise, public-speaking ability, and confidence in expressing their opinions. Best of all the Council has substituted a system of rewards for former condemnation and penalties.

JUNIOR COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 14

Elizabeth M. Elliot, *Principal*

The Junior Council of Public School 14 was formed in February 1937 for the purpose of reorganizing clubs in the junior-high-school department and solving other school problems. Membership consisted of twenty-two children—three from each junior-high class, two from each fifth and sixth, and one from each fourth-grade chosen by their classmates to represent them on the Council.

The speech made by the president, Robert Roth, grade 8, at the Junior Council Convention explains the council's activities:

The Junior Council of Public School 14 accomplished the following between February and June 1937:

1. Clubs have been reorganized.
2. A letter has been written to the Municipal Recreation Department asking for a playground supervisor.
3. The owner of prospective playground space was interviewed by a committee.
4. An emblem contest was conducted and an emblem chosen for the Junior Council.
5. A contest for words for a Council song was carried on. The verse was chosen. The music will be written in September 1937.
6. A scrapbook, a banner, and an exhibit of Council work has been made.
7. Photographs of Council members and their activities have been taken by the Council.
8. Youth Week was planned and the activities were carried out by the Council committees.

At the first meeting in September 1937 it was decided to (1) send the president to the organization meeting of the Student Council of Public School 4; (2) send a representative to the Milk Conference at Public School 17, (3) write music for the Council song; (4) work to secure afterschool supervision of the playgrounds and to secure additional neighborhood playgrounds; (5) amend the constitution according to needs; and (6) have an Amateur Hour to raise funds for Council use.

The Junior Council has come to mean a great deal to Public School 14. Children suggest problems freely and think that the Junior Council is the proper place to present their difficulties. The Council members feel the responsibility of thinking through the problems and reaching a conclusion satisfactory to all and beneficial to the school.

JUNIOR COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 17

Mildred Smith, *Principal*

The Junior Council of Public School 17 was organized the first week in February 1937. The aim of this Council is to promote better health in our community. We think health is the most essential factor in our lives. Our meetings are held the second and fourth Friday of each month. At present we have five active committees: sanitation, home cleanliness, refreshment, community health, and milk campaign. The group consists of 33 members from grade 7, 3 delegates each from grades 3, 4, and 5, and 6 delegates from the two sixth grades, totaling 59.

The Council made its own book containing activity data. Committees visited a city bathhouse, bakery, and fire station for information concerning care in sanitation. A visiting nurse attended one meeting, explaining first aid in the home. A local doctor gave an interview concerning inoculation and vaccination. A committee made a drive on poison ivy using posters, letters, and speeches. We sent nineteen delegates, six posters, and our Council banner to the May Junior Council Convention. There, our miniature model house was also displayed, showing cleanliness in the home.

Health is again our objective this fall. We are stressing greater use of milk as a health aid. Our milk unit is to have the Yonkers Health Commissioner as our guest speaker. The girls are serving refreshments at each P.T.A. meeting, the menus being based upon milk, such as tapioca pudding, cocoa, etc. The Council is continuing a yearbook. Next February, our aim will stress safety as a major branch in the study of good health.

This activity has developed in the students coöperation, personality, a better vocabulary, and improvement in the social arts. It has brought the neighborhood into closer relationship with the school. Its reaction on the school has been an increasing activity in outside affairs, giving students a keener interest in their surroundings and arousing a better school spirit.

JUNIOR COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 20

Peter Kurilecz, Secretary, Fifth Grade

The first Junior Council meeting of Public School 20 was held May 6, 1937. The Council voted to appoint a diphtheria prevention committee. The committee members were sent to tell the parents to have their children given toxin-antitoxin. The committee told the parents to go to their own doctor if they could afford it or to the free clinic in City Hall if they could not pay a doctor. The committee got names and addresses of the families that have children under the age of five years from the teachers. The per cent of the whole school protected before the committee was appointed was 92.7 per cent; after the committee got through it was 94 per cent.

JUNIOR COMMUNITY COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 22

Rocco E. Rescigno, Principal

The Public School 22 Junior Community Council was formed last March for the purpose of making each pupil in the school aware of his social and civic responsibilities, and, secondly, of making the school a happier and better place in which to live. A representative assembly was convened and the purposes and functions of a junior council were explained to the student body. A simple parliamentary procedure was adopted and a president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer were elected.

Many educative and enriching experiences accrue to the individual and collective students as a result of Junior Council member-

ship. A seventh-grade pupil, president of the Junior Council last year, says:

The Council is organized into clubs and committees which handle the problems that come up for attention. The children join the group in whose work they are interested and where they feel that they may be of help. Active committees include: the dramatic club, the art club, the music committee, the radio programs committee, the tree and bird committee, the pet committee, the hobby and club committee, the student patrol, the bookmobile committee, Professor Quiz committee, the library committee, the bulletin committee, the courtesy committee, the know your city committee, and the Youth Week committee.

Renewed interest and a greater understanding of the purposes of the Junior Council were manifested early in the present school year. Reorganization quickly took place and ambitious plans were projected for the coming months. These include a Junior Council newspaper; Council sponsorship of American Education Week; the direction and management of the school store; greater responsibility for general school assemblies; the organization of a school band; and a drive to make the entire community Junior Council conscious.

In the opinion of principal and teachers, the Junior Council gives to pupils many educative experiences and opportunities for growth. Active participation in real life situations of the Junior Council offers opportunities for citizenship training and lays a foundation for intelligent adult participation in the affairs of the municipality, State, and nation.

JUNIOR NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 23

Edith D. Hartley, *Principal*

How it all came about. News of the first Junior Neighborhood Council Convention filled the air last March. The children at Public School 23 were not to be left out of this big Youths' Week event. Presto! They changed their Service League into a Junior Council and succeeded in sending representatives to the convention.

Organization changed. League officers retired. Council officers were elected.

Membership changed. Sixth-grade children formed the League. Representatives from twelve classroom groups (3B to 6A inclusive) made up the Junior Council.

Aims changed. The League worked to make the school a good school for the neighborhood. The Council considered it equally important to make the neighborhood a happier place for all to live in.

Management changed. The League was directed by teachers or older children. The "give-and-take" discussions of Council meetings now help children to think and plan together concerning how things should be done.

Planning changed. The League made its own plans, but to plan under the Council involved consultation with many people. Advice and assistance must be sought for in the community.

Activities expanded. They were coordinated (a new, hard word but wonderful to understand). Activities for the good of the school made fine neighborhood projects.

Tangible values achieved. Friendliness and neighborhood tolerance extended through activities: slingshots and guns were banished; stone-throwing feuds are past; assistance was volunteered to police, shopkeepers, and school authorities; high-school boys and others were reported to authorities for injury to property.

Plans for the year. A study of parts of the Constitution of the United States dealing with rights, privileges, and responsibilities for the purpose of forming a constitution for the Council; to make plans for National Education Week; launch hobbies in school and community; to stimulate enthusiasm for better schoolwork; to make this year's motto for Book Week come true at Public School 23, "Reading, the Magic Highway to Adventure"; to plan and organize "drives" when necessary to secure desired goals.

In conclusion. The neighborhood belonging to Public School 23

is a little city in itself composed of all kinds of people, from all kinds of homes, with all kinds of problems. It is, therefore, a splendid place for Council members to learn to think, act, and plan for the good of all. We are having fun doing this. Wish us luck!

JUNIOR COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 24

Helen Symington, *President, Sixth Grade*

When our Neighborhood Council first met, some of us from the grammar grades acted as ushers and stayed through the meeting. Our parents wanted to have the park next to our school improved and get a bookmobile to stop in the neighborhood. Our grade had made two models of that park, one as it was and one as we thought it should be. We showed these models at the Neighborhood Council meeting. Our models were made for a meeting on housing held by the Yonkers Coördinating Council and the Yonkers Council of Parents and Teachers.

It was the Neighborhood Council that gave us the idea of a Junior Council. We wanted to help our parents with the park and the bookmobile. So we decided to organize a Junior Council. Our first meeting was on February 8, 1937. Twenty-four children elected from the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades organized the Council. We elected officers and decided to have weekly meetings. Our aim was to help our school and community.

We worked through committees. The park committee helped to get the park improved. The recreation committee bought a shuffleboard set, a camera, and garden seeds with money earned from a candy sale. The safety committee helped patrol the schoolyards and escorted the small children across the streets at dismissals. The art committee painted the scenery for our school play. The bookmobile committee helped to get the bookmobile to stop in our neighborhood.

Our honorary members are the Mayor of Yonkers, a member of the Board of Education, a college professor, the superintendents

and directors of our school system, and our school custodian who helps us with everything.

JUNIOR COUNCIL, PUBLIC SCHOOL 25

Irwin Pless, *Chairman, Sixth Grade*

This is how the Junior Council of Public School 25 started. Our school gave a play in the kindergarten for parents. It was so crowded the school realized its need for an auditorium. The Junior Council was formed to obtain our needs.

Officers were elected. These committees were formed: school improvement, social planning, publicity, recreation, health, and safety.

Our major problem is to secure an auditorium and a gymnasium. We investigated a mansion on our school property. We found the cost of remodeling too great.

We have a well-organized newspaper, a constitution, and a court. The social planning committee formed many clubs which promoted a friendly spirit.

Parents now were asking, "What is this Junior Council we are hearing so much about?" The Council explained their aims and purposes at a meeting. The parents became as enthusiastic as the children. Our principal said to our parents:

"The Council has been a great value. Our children now realize that they are a part of the community and have a part in its work. It has made leaders and shown each child that he too can be a leader. We find children evaluating themselves as to the requirements of the Council. Discipline has been improved by more student government and the school has been put on a better social basis. Best of all the community has been made aware of our needs and more desirous to give service."

THE FIRST JUNIOR COUNCIL CONVENTION

Leona E. Stanton, *Teacher Adviser, Public School 5*

The first Junior Council Convention was held on May 11, 1937, as a major part of the Youth Week program in Yonkers. Approximately four hundred delegates from the thirteen junior councils, banners flying, assembled in the auditorium of the Administration Building for a discussion of their particular problems and to exchange ideas as to the best solution for them.

The auditorium was decorated with colorful posters and many interesting exhibits of council activities were displayed.

The Convention was called to order by a general chairman, an eleven-year-old student of the Public School 5 Council, who formally opened the convention and introduced the guests. The Mayor of Yonkers, in his address to the children, said, "I regret that we cannot grant all the requests that come to my office from your Council members but I advise you to be patient and *persistent* and slowly these things will be added to our community life."

Each of the thirteen councils was represented by a chairman seated on the platform, who, in turn, presented the history, the development, and problems of his particular Junior Council.

The major problems discussed were: eradication of poison ivy; bicycle safety devices; rerouting of bookmobile; the evaluation of radio programs; guards for coasting streets; the flooding of tennis courts for skating; the search for play spaces; the forming of "special-interest" clubs; and the need of school safety patrols.

At the close, the Councils voted to make the Junior Council Convention an annual event.

THE YONKERS COORDINATING COUNCIL IN THE YONKERS PLAN

BERTHA SMITH

Assistant Superintendent of Yonkers Public Schools

NEED FOR THE COUNCIL

When a child becomes a delinquent every available social force can be marshalled to help him, but no organization exists which coördinates the efforts of all groups to keep the child out of court. Society works in reverse when it comes to child welfare. It should be the other way; all agencies should work together in the child's behalf before he gets into trouble. Delinquency should be prevented. Every child should have the opportunity to enjoy a normal, healthy, wholesome childhood.

The speech in which Judge Smyth of the Westchester County Children's Court presented these facts to the Yonkers Council of Parents and Teachers was the steppingstone to the present Yonkers Coördinating Council. Thereafter, in January 1936, the president of the Council of Parents and Teachers, two members of the Board of Education, a principal, and the director of guidance formed a discussion group which met each month with the judge of Westchester County Children's Court to consider a comprehensive program of child care and protection, and the relation of this problem to a coördinating council. Gradually representatives of various organizations and agencies joined in the discussion.

In May 1936, the sociological survey, made through the coöperative effort of a school study group and described in the first section of this article, was presented at one of the meetings in the judge's chambers. The findings, showing actual community conditions and problems, together with information about the neighborhood councils already operating in Yonkers, brought to a focus the felt need for the proposed coordinating council. A committee selected from both groups, with the assistant superintendent of elementary

schools as chairman, was appointed to work out details of organization and in November 1936 the Yonkers Coordinating Council came into existence.

MEMBERSHIP OF COUNCIL

At that time there were already three neighborhood councils, not quite a year old, operating programs of considerable worth. Through the stimulation of the school study group and the publicity in connection with the programs of the Yonkers Coordinating Council and the existing local units, the number of neighborhood councils increased to ten, all represented on the central Coordinating Council, with several others pending in various stages of evolution. Numerous junior councils, too, sprang up in the schools. The central Coordinating Council, therefore, rests on a broad neighborhood base, which situation is the initial strength of the Yonkers plan. This desirable factor, together with its wide representative membership, gives the Yonkers Coordinating Council promising assurance of success.

Very important is the enthusiastic following from educational circles; for, since the Coordinating Council is fundamentally concerned with children, its roots must reach deep into the school system; otherwise it will lack vital contact with the realities for which it exists. Since school groups, through their studies, took a major part in the new community movement, there was unusual readiness for the increased social participation offered by the central council. A large number of school persons promptly joined the Yonkers Coordinating Council: the four superintendents, the twenty-six elementary principals, the vice-principals, the nine directors, five high-school principals, the principal of the continuation school, one teacher representative from each school and many special teachers, two Board of Education members, representatives from the Yonkers Teachers' Association, the Yonkers Principals' Association, the Primary Teachers' Council, the Special Class Teach-

ers Council, and the P.T.A.'s. It is evident that the schools are solidly behind the Coördinating Council.

There is valuable representation from other sources: the city departments of welfare, health, safety, recreation, city planning; the children's court, the probation department; the public library; the Chamber of Commerce; the N.Y.A.; Yonkers Academy of Medicine; Y.M.C.A.; Salvation Army; Visiting Nurses Association; D. A. R.; Women's Institute; Sunshine Society; Jewish community center; service clubs; County Motion Picture Council; Protestant Big Sisters; Catholic Big Sisters; the Catholic School Board sends an observer to the meetings; interested persons include the city and county judges, a senator, many business men, clergy from all denominations, the assistant editor of the local paper, and many others. *The membership stands at about two hundred.*

ORGANIZATION

The six officers, four delegates, and committee chairmen constitute the Board of Governors. The chairman of the Council is the judge of the Westchester County Children's Court; the vice-chairman, the commissioner of public welfare. Other officers include the president of the Yonkers Council of Parents and Teachers, the assistant public librarian, the assistant superintendent of elementary schools, director of the N.Y. A. Delegates are the vice-president of the Yonkers Academy of Medicine, the commissioner of public safety, the president of the Yonkers Teachers Association, and the assistant superintendent of secondary schools.

Committees and chairmen are as follows:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Research: executive secretary,
Jewish community center | 4 Domestic relations: representa-
tive of Protestant Big Sisters |
| 2. Guidance: school director of
guidance | 5 Health: to be filled |
| 3. Education: college professor | 6 Recreation: chairman, recrea-
tion commission |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 7. Library: public library head | 14. Contact: local rabbi |
| 8. Motion picture. County Motion Picture Council president | 15. Ways and means: Board of Education member |
| 9. Vocational: assistant superintendent of vocational education | 16. Membership: county judge |
| 10. Literature: local priest | 17. Rules: director of Westchester County Probation |
| 11. Housing: planning director | 18. Press: member, Lion's Club |
| 12. Legislation: city judge | 19. Nominating: city probation department |
| 13. Field leaders: director of adult education | 20. Placement: director of NYA |

Many of the working members of the Council are leaders of important key activities of the community. The caliber of the membership is significant in that it indicates the quality of persons who are desirous of participating in a movement to better the lives of children and youth.

The Board of Governors meets monthly and acts as the steering committee. The Council meets either as a unit when important questions need discussion or in conjunction with any agency which is holding a public meeting on the topic of current interest to the Council.

PROGRAM

What achievements should be expected of an organization one year old? The Council's first regular meeting initiated its program. One hundred and fifty members with special speakers discussed the problems of recreation and the menace of obscene literature, city-wide issues that the neighborhood councils had submitted among many others to the Coördinating Council for immediate attention.

Suggested surveys and long-time consideration of scope and plans were temporarily postponed. The Council committees spent the first year working on problems acute in the minds of the groups which appealed to the Council for aid.

Special Committee on Psychiatric Unit for Public Schools. Before the Coordinating Council was formally organized, a committee of its prospective members was appointed to consider the establishment of a psychiatric unit in the school system and to join with other groups in presenting the matter to the Board of Education. When the educational budget is available it is expected that a beginning in this direction will be made.

The Committee on Recreation is investigating possibilities for more recreation space and play supervision. Vacant lots, plots on which the city has liens, changes in present playgrounds, a larger recreational city budget, more school community centers, volunteer leaders, and a survey of present resources are the items receiving attention.

The Committee on Obscene Literature is under the guidance of the clergy of the Catholic Church which denomination has long waged systematic war against this insidious evil. Through the Parents and Teachers Council, machinery was set in motion which effectively changed a local publication.

The Committee on Housing, under the director of the City Planning Commission, has been active on: the new local ordinance recently passed which permits the Yonkers Building Department to repair at the owner's expense or to demolish houses when the owner fails to make repairs in accordance with the terms of the new regulations; the Wagner Bill which will give Yonkers Federal aid for a low-cost housing experiment; and the New York State Moffat Bill which was pending in the legislature and which carried a plan for slum clearance. In this connection the Coordinating Council attended the meetings of the Yonkers Council of Parents and Teachers at which time a public presentation of Yonkers's need for slum clearance, low-cost housing, and suggestions for first steps in betterment were made. Out of this meeting grew support for local, State, and Federal housing legislation and also a recommendation that a plan for a Yonkers Tenement Committee be sponsored by a private

agency to help stricter enforcement of local regulations. Yonkers is understaffed as to building inspectors. With such a committee poor housing would be quickly improved.

Placement Committee The Coördinating Council through a public program in behalf of the Yonkers NYA stressed the problem of unemployed youth, and the need for apprenticeship measures and a junior placement officer in Yonkers from the Division of Placement and Employment Insurance of the State Department of Labor. There is promise that an employment branch for Yonkers will be established.

The Motion Picture Committee is alert to the danger of hasty local action on legislation in relation to the attendance of children at Yonkers motion-picture houses.

The Educational Committee has the responsibility of keeping the Council and the public informed concerning Council functions and projects by arranging programs for public meetings and by supplying speakers for inquiring groups. There is a constant call for speakers from neighborhood councils, P.T.A.'s, and unorganized groups to present the findings of the sociological survey to each ecological area; to interpret the function of neighborhood councils; and to explain their relations to the work of the Yonkers Coordinating Council. Excellent publicity has stimulated interest in this community movement; but an immense amount of work remains to be done to clarify the ideas of the public. Many more informed speakers are needed for this important task.

The Legislation Committee's recommendations included the support of two bills pending in the State legislature: State aid for kindergartens which would add \$68,000 to the Yonkers budget, and an amendment to the law governing liabilities of the Board of Education which would free teachers from liability for children's accidents, now passed.

Other activities of the Coordinating Council were as follows: public meetings, one with the Yonkers Teachers Association to pub-

licize information on the Child Labor Amendment; another to present the findings of a local survey of the local movie problem; and during Youth Week a campaign was supported on "Give Youth A Job" with excellent results.

The Council will add to its program this year, the second in its existence, a plan for the support of additional high-school buildings including additional space for acute vocational needs.

EVALUATION

The initial program of the Yonkers Coördinating Council, perhaps, may not deal with the great fundamental social issues. The Council realizes with proper humility that it has embarked on an experimental path; that it must, therefore, feel its way; that new techniques must be evolved to accomplish the difficult work of coördination. But Council committees are active and report regularly to the *Board of Governors on the common, acute community problems* they have undertaken, most of which are in proper areas for first persistent efforts toward solution.

There is plenty of work for the Council to do. It is true that there are many efficient agencies and organizations, both public and private, in Yonkers, giving heroic service, some of which are more or less coördinated in effort, but the complicated social scene consists of hundreds of unsolved problems. Thousands of children are miserably housed and lack recreational facilities for wholesome childhood; delinquency; relief; unemployment; low wages; race prejudice; youth problems. The list is endless! To those working with children in congested neighborhoods the cry of duplication and overorganization seems beside the mark. Conditions demand workers. There is room for hundreds of groups who are willing to forget themselves in service for the children and youth in our city. With informed, unselfish, widespread service will come a worth-while citizenry; continued social neglect will end in chaos.

One of the most valuable contributions that the Council has made

so far is its effect on public awareness of community problems. The nucleus of community-minded persons in each district, organized for coöperative community effort, and the publicity the central and neighborhood councils have enjoyed are leavening the lump of public indifference. There is hardly an edition of the local newspaper which does not note some council activities. Never has so much news space been so steadily devoted to unselfish community effort. Never have so many Yonkers people, all at the same time, been intent on common neighborhood problems. Public officials are alert to the reiteration of people's expressed interests. Organizations have speeded up their services to the community. The new Building Ordinance was passed so promptly that agencies could not move fast enough to offer support; the Recreation Commission is more active than ever searching for recreational space; the Boy Scout organization requests a school survey in regard to the adequacy of service in relation to various age groups; at each meeting of the Common Council, aldermen vigorously demand more parks and play spaces, closed coasting streets, and patrol protection for their respective wards. Groups are actively fulfilling neighborhood needs: one P.T.A. has arranged the lease of the Christian Science Church site to the city for \$1.00 on condition that it be equipped as a local playground for small children; another P.T.A. has provided game and play material for adult recreation in its school center; the colored Civic Forum established a gameroom in an underprivileged area and is preparing to launch three additional game centers in different sections. For the first time in the history of Yonkers, no delinquency cases have been reported at court for three consecutive weeks. It may be assumed that this result is due in some measure to the widespread drive to better the environments that condition child behavior. The organization of neighborhood councils seems contagious; each neighborhood is alert as to what adjacent areas are doing. The traditional school isolation is permanently broken.

Many of the educational staff are sensitively aware of the community, its needs, its composition in terms of individual persons.

The Yonkers Coördinating Council, itself, unmistakably furnishes a needed channel for community participation. The proof lies in the outstanding response to membership invitation; a city-wide heartening affirmation that scores of busy leaders are willing to take on additional burdens in the hope that through the Council increasingly effective service will be secured for the children of Yonkers.

This city-wide Coördinating Council plays an important role in the Yonkers plan. It makes possible the reciprocal flow of opinion and action, to and fro, from the neighborhood councils, which supply points on the periphery of the community to the coordinating center.

After a year's work, the Coördinating Council has been able to clarify its objectives, to indicate its scope, to emphasize its coördinating function, and to formulate its relationships with the existing organizations of Yonkers.

Probably the greatest value of any plan of community coördination is inherent in the socializing process itself more than in the objective outcomes. The Yonkers plan offers a democratic path to social planning for the benefit of the children of the community.

THE COORDINATION OF EDUCATION AND THE COMMUNITY

JULIUS YOURMAN

*New York University School of Education; Adviser,
Yonkers Coordinating Project*

When the school accepts the role of a social agency the purpose of the curriculum changes to that of bringing about desirable changes in individuals and in the community. The new role makes it necessary for schools to discover community resources and problems and then provide a sequence of experiences to utilize and meet the revealed conditions. The school program and resources and the community program and resources are fused in a continuous process of mutual assistance to meet common needs.

The following brief reports indicate that the elementary schools of Yonkers are seeking to make effective their dual objective—"to help children to know, to live, and to grow" and "to make Yonkers a better place for all."

INVENTORY OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES OF YONKERS

Lucy A. Glasier, *Public School 3 Annex*, and Helen H. Ramsay,
Public School 11

Yonkers and its vicinity are rich in historical resources but no inventory was available until the research here described furnished a wealth of fascinating data.

A teacher committee contacted the local D.A.R. group which had furnished markers for the county's most important historical spots, and studied records on file at the Historical Society of White Plains and at our own Manor Hall.

A valuable trail map of historic Yonkers was prepared and it will be printed for the use of schools and interested persons.

YONKERS MOVIE INVESTIGATION

Directed by Olga Schlobohm, *Department of Psychology*

The purpose of the Yonkers movie investigation, recently completed, was to furnish teachers and parents with first-hand contact and specific information regarding the Yonkers movie situation and its effects on our Yonkers children. The purpose was twofold: (1) through the reaction engendered by this local homemade movie investigation to stimulate responsible groups to plan a curriculum to guide children's movie experiences; (2) to secure parental coöperation to bring about the desired ends.

This movie survey was a coöperative undertaking carried out by a voluntary group of 55 teachers from 19 elementary schools and a committee of 24 P.T.A. members under the chairmanship of the assistant superintendent of elementary schools, and under the direction of the school psychologist.

The investigation was carried on through three projects:

1. A pupil-movie interview questionnaire administered to 1,300 children by teachers to discover the children's usual movie attendance and the effect of Yonkers movies in terms of health, sleep, play habits, emotional and behavior reactions.
2. A week-end observation of the 10 Yonkers movie theaters by 24 P.T.A. members and 51 teachers to evaluate independently the film offerings, to observe children's attendance, to observe physical conditions of the theaters.
3. A week-end count of all the Yonkers elementary-school children who attended the Yonkers movies

The findings of the Yonkers movie investigation parallel the Payne Fund data but our own local study brought intense personal reactions to the teachers and parents participating. It was found that 80 per cent of the feature films and 63 per cent of the trailers observed were unsuitable for age groups attending. Thirty-one per cent of the films had crime motives. Both parent and teacher observers rated the unsuitable films as too emotionally stimulating;

too much killing and drinking; too many gruesome accidents; distorted information. Parents' and teachers' ratings coincided closely with authoritative film appraisals.

The findings in regard to children's attendance show that out of 11,538 elementary-school children 32 per cent attended the Yonkers movies over the week-end. This number would have been larger had there not been many competitive activities that week-end for children. In most theaters 75 per cent of the Saturday afternoon audience consisted of children, seemingly under 16 years old, who stayed long after the supper hour; 25 per cent stayed to see the feature film twice; 9 per cent to see it three times; 20 per cent of the children went unaccompanied by adults.

Of the 1,300 children interviewed, 42 per cent reported that they had been frightened and 33 per cent had bad dreams relating to movies seen; 80 per cent had play interests based on films featuring crime motives; 10 to 33 per cent of the children who manifested health, behavior, and study problems were attending unsuitable movies.

Parents and teachers reported that the physical aspects of some of the theaters needed improvement and that great numbers of unaccompanied young children seated promiscuously or massed in sections constituted a fire, panic, and moral hazard.

From this investigation came definite results. Curriculum plans were made through which children's movie experiences were guided. Plans were carried out by schools to stimulate parental responsibility and to secure parental coöperation for the purpose of guiding individual children who presented specific problems growing out of unfavorable movie contacts.

P.T.A., school, and other groups publicized the local movie findings to arouse public opinion and to change parental attitudes in relation to the movie problem affecting their children. The movie findings were presented to the Yonkers Coördinating Council, P.T.A. groups in Yonkers and adjoining communities, and were

published in a local Y.W.C.A. *Bulletin* and in the *Primary Teachers Council News*.

Plans are being made by the Parents and Teachers Council to organize a permanent advisory movie committee to coöperate with the schools: (1) to provide a monthly movie calendar; (2) to study the matron plan; (3) to help schools acquire movie equipment; (4) to publicize the movie-investigation findings.

THE YONKERS RADIO INVESTIGATION

Directed by Betty B. Frye, *Psychologist, Yonkers Public Schools*

An investigation of the present educational and social problem, the radio, has been made under the direction of the department of psychology in connection with the elementary-school curriculum, at the request of the Primary Teachers Council and the assistant superintendent of Yonkers schools.

The purpose of the radio investigation was to learn radio content, the time and amount of listening, the programs listened to, and the effects of radio listening on our school children. These phases of the radio problem must be known in order that children's radio experiences may be guided. For the investigation, the psychological department prepared a pupil and a parent interview questionnaire through which the radio habits of 1,728 elementary-school children in twenty-four elementary schools were learned. Seventy-one teachers and supervisors participated in the study with the cooperation of twenty-four P.T.A. members representing nine Yonkers P.T.A. groups. The investigation also included an evaluation by teachers and parents of the six most prominent radio stations for Yonkers radio listeners. Thus the parents' point of view on their children's radio problems is being made available to teachers. Parent cooperation in guiding children's radio experiences will thus be assured.

The investigation revealed that: (1) 98 per cent of children owned radios; (2) 97½ per cent liked to listen to the radio; (3) 74 per

cent listened an hour or more daily. The investigation shows also that acute problems for many children grow out of the effects of undesirable programs and wrong listening habits as to time and amount.

64 per cent of the fifty-eight programs most widely heard frighten children by their own reports. Table I indicates how Program A effects large numbers of children in our different school grades.

TABLE I

<i>Grades</i>	<i>Per Cent Listened</i>	<i>Per Cent Reported Fright</i>
I	50	4
II	51	19
III	54	11
Upper	66	23

Yet Program B (Table II) and Program C (Table III), although starred for desirability, have much smaller audiences because one is not well known by our children and the other comes at a poor hour.

TABLE II

Program B, A starred program not well enough known to
Yonkers Children

<i>Grades</i>	<i>Per Cent Listened</i>
I	18
II	20
III	12
Upper	0

TABLE III

Program C, A starred program at a poor hour

<i>Grades</i>	<i>Per Cent Listened</i>
I	8
II	13
III	12
Upper	3

Table IV shows types of behavior problems arising from wrong radio listening either in time, amount, or content of program. Children hurry their meals, neglect play, and become problem children through overinterest in radio.

TABLE IV

	Grade I	Grade II	Grade III	Upper Grades	Total
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
<i>Number of Children</i>	363	529	515	321	1,728
Eating problems	15	16	16	30	23
Sleeping problems	20	21	16	9	18
Lack outdoor work and play	2	2	3	1	2
Lack indoor work and play	1	3	2	—	2
Behavior (conduct)	13	13	15	16	14

The data gathered through the survey point to the fact that our children need radio guidance and for these purposes: (1) teachers are making curriculum plans that will assure radio guidance to the children in their charge; (2) a handbook of desirable current radio programs for in-school and out-of-school listening is being prepared by school and P.T.A. groups; (3) parental coöperation is being enlisted to care for individual children with problems growing out of wrong listening habits.

A permanent radio council is being organized by the Parents and Teachers Council to coöperate with school groups by: (1) providing a monthly calendar listing approved radio offerings; (2) by contacting sources of radio programs and registering approval or disapproval; (3) by encouraging schools to acquire radio equipment for educational and recreational use; (4) by publicizing the findings of the radio investigators to awaken parental and community responsibility.

STUDY OF THE DIET OF YOUNG CHILDREN

Alvina H. Diehl, *Teacher, Public School 20*

The plan included a survey of foods used by our children and a study of poorly balanced diets.

Our school has found from experience that a questionnaire either filled out at school or sent home in our foreign neighborhood does not produce accurate results when food is the topic.

In the study here outlined the teachers used a different approach to secure information. The subject was broached in a casual way making certain, however, that important questions were answered by all children. The findings of this informal survey are given in the table below.

DIET HABITS OF 162 CHILDREN, PUBLIC SCHOOL 20

	<i>Drink Tea or Coffee</i>	<i>Drink too Little Milk</i>	<i>Eat In- adequate Breakfast</i>	<i>Eat Fruit</i>	<i>Eat Cereal</i>	<i>Eat Cake for Break- fast</i>	<i>Eggs in Regular Diet</i>
Number	58	89	55	65	50	42	19
Per cent	36	55	33	40	30	26	11

A weight chart was made showing that out of 375 children 85 were 7 per cent underweight; 69 were less than 7 per cent underweight; 164 were average; and 57 were 10 per cent or more overweight. Next, reports on physical defects were studied. Out of 317 children, 281 had defects and only 38 had received treatment.

An investigation of the faulty diets of our young children revealed that the problems fall in three groups: too little food; food inadequate in kind; and bad food habits. In many cases all meals were insufficient in amount due to poverty or ignorance of food values. Children's desire to play and their fear of being late resulted in curtailed meals. Children with certain physical defects had no appetite. Too little milk, too few vegetables, too much candy and other sweets, and use of coffee and tea were prevailing conditions.

Remedial measures. The services of the social agencies were se-

cured and the mothers of the underweight children deficient in diet were invited to demonstrations in which model breakfasts and lunches for children were prepared. Mimeographed menus were distributed and samplings of foods prepared by the nutritionists were given to the mothers. Underweight children kept weight graphs; refreshments served at parties were greatly modified; many physical defects were corrected.

This year we plan to extend the study of diets by having discussion groups of parents and children; by experiments to show the harmful effects of excessive use of certain foods; by visual aids such as charts and films; and by planning and preparing meals in school. The value of, and necessity for this school program is obvious to all who have taken part in it.

A STUDY OF HOME RESPONSIBILITIES OF PRIMARY CHILDREN AND THE
EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES THEY PRESENT

Miss Grace Narr, assisted by Miss Anna Gilbertson, and other teachers

In Public School 8, in a highly privileged area, we made an investigation to find out if there really was any relationship between the number of home responsibilities a child has been trained to assume regularly and his behavior in the classroom. One hundred and eighty children of our first and second grades were studied.

A "Questionnaire on Children's Home Responsibilities" was sent into each home. It listed personal, social, household, and family responsibilities that a child might reasonably be expected to practise, with an explanation of the purpose of the study, and instructions for checking. Of the one hundred eighty questionnaires sent into the homes, one hundred and seventy-four were returned. Each individual paper was scored by the teacher. All findings were then pooled and charted giving a picture of the entire group.

The teachers then made a class chart of children who never practised certain responsibilities in the home and began to rearrange the

committees carrying out classroom activities so that those children were given every opportunity for social growth.

The Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedules were next used for each child. The findings seem to indicate that the children trained regularly in home responsibilities, personal, social, and household, stand a better chance of a high behavior rating than do the children left carefree at home.

One valuable outcome of this study for us has been the definite knowledge we now have of the social needs of each individual child. Our curriculum is full of opportunities that will develop these children into individuals with social knowledge and a sense of social responsibilities.

I present here a few of the opportunities that the set-up of our modern primary classroom with its activity program affords for the development of these children who never practise at home some of the responsibilities listed on the home questionnaire.

Under "school housekeeping" one of our teachers lists thirteen committees each consisting of two or three members. There are committees for the care of playground equipment, pets, plants, library table, game table, electric lights, supply closet, erasers, blackboards, chalk, coatroom, tools, and material used in activity work. There is also another committee for mending books. The members of the committees are changed monthly.

The class party provides for the practice of both social and household responsibilities. Committees are appointed to plan the program for the entertainment of guests, to write invitations, to buy refreshments, to prepare and serve them, and to clean up after the party.

A chart made by the children, suggesting things to do when not busy with class assignments, helps to occupy their leisure time with pleasure and profit. One class made a chart to be used at home. This device has met with the approval of some of our parents and they have helped by suggesting additions to the list.

Through this type of study the school may ascertain exactly what

responsibilities each child needs for his social development and what practice in those areas he gets at home. The school then may provide every opportunity for the practice of needed responsibilities for each individual. But without the other important factor in the child's life, the home working with the school, little of permanent value will be gained. Knowing this, we have had *personal interviews with parents* whose children have low ratings in behavior and home responsibilities and have explained to them our program and suggested ways in which the home could cooperate with the school to the end that the child may develop a stability of purpose and character.

THE SCHOOL-COMMUNITY ART CURRICULUM

J Winthrop Andrews, *Director of Art*

The sociological survey and the subsequent study carried on in Yonkers revealed to those who participated that the environment of a school community predicts the future of its children to a greater extent than had previously been supposed. Education has not in the past considered it necessary to adapt the school curriculum to the specific needs of the school community, as shown by a study of its sociological conditions. The art department has set itself the problem of better adjusting the art curriculum to the requirements of the pupils of each school group and to so influence the neighborhood that aesthetic improvements will be made; that those things inside and outside the school which handicap the child's aesthetic development will be done away with or neutralized by the stressing of the things that are uplifting and can be considered as assets.

It behooves teachers to understand more clearly these forces and in some way to lessen them and neutralize them by other more worth-while influences. Also, we should appreciate that each group has some advantageous factors, which possibly are not in other groups and which can be made use of to stimulate and raise the art standards of that community.

The general trend for research in all fields of service has, perhaps, shown us the advisability of a more careful observation and evaluation of facts and conditions and hence a wiser application of our theories. Thus, it was considered advisable to survey the aesthetic conditions of each school community. This was done through two questionnaires. The eighty questions asked in the first survey depended on the principals, teachers, art supervisors, and groups such as P.T.A.'s and junior councils for the answers. The second secured information from pupils. This survey endeavored to cover in a broad way all those things which consciously or unconsciously would influence the child's aesthetic reactions when in school, when going to and from school, when at home, and during his leisure time. The objectives of this survey as stated to the principals were fourfold: to find the aesthetic conditions of the school community; to use the findings as a basis of the art curriculum; to use the art of the community as an aid in the better understanding of art in the everyday life of the community and as a cultural asset, and to try to overcome any lack of aesthetic expression in the community.

The survey gathered information on the following topics: amount and type of nature; housing, both interiors and exteriors, the aesthetic condition of streets, commercial buildings, public buildings, apartment houses, and churches; the nationality and types of the people in the school community, their professions, their avocations, and educational interests; collections of art objects; people who will help as speakers or otherwise; the aesthetic condition of the school; talents and art training of the teachers.

The realization of the constant influence of the environment makes our work as educators in art a community project; more exactly, an area or school-community project. We have not only better to adapt the subjects, standards, skills, and methods to the needs and advantages of each group, but we must encourage community agencies gradually to change the anti-aesthetic conditions

and then make it possible for the children to think and act during their home hours in closer accord with their school art education.

The problem of analyzing our findings is being undertaken by a representative committee in each school. A division of the findings into assets, needs, and deterring factors enables one to have a basis on which to work. Wherever a pattern in the present art curriculum can be used to counteract a "detering factor," it will be stressed and a record kept of the resulting change. A creation of new patterns in the curriculum to meet the new needs is also essential.

The survey is perhaps most helpful in revealing the standards of appreciation of each community. Upon these standards are to be built a more reasonable and sensitive understanding and appreciation of the aesthetic environment by ourselves and our children.

LANGUAGE CURRICULUM ADAPTED TO FOREIGN SCHOOL NEIGHBORHOODS

Lillian F. Morrow, *Principal, Public School 24*, Katherine Short, *Vice-Principal, Public School 18*; Edith Phillips, *President, Primary Teachers Council*; and assisting committee of teachers

Tests made by the school psychologist indicated that in Public Schools 12, 18, and 24 language development was below other school achievement and not in keeping with the children's known mental ability. Public School 18 is 95 per cent Italian and Public School 12 is 70 per cent Russian. Twenty-five per cent of the children in both schools hear no English at home and more than fifty per cent hear a foreign language and broken English. The children of Public School 24 hear a foreign language in one third of their homes. Foreign-language newspapers and radio programs are the rule.

The faculties of these schools are making a survey of the language problems by listening to the children in as many different situations as possible, in the playgrounds, during free periods in school, on the streets, in the movies, etc., and classifying their vocabulary and methods of expression.

As a result of these observations, teachers hope to determine the causes of language difficulties and utilize the school-activity curriculum to bring about the improvement that is necessary if the children are to make adequate adjustments in their social, civic, vocational, and community situations as well as the more immediate adjustment to their life in school. The analysis of the out-of-school language habits of children will reveal what is required to compensate for the inadequacies in their home and community language experiences. At the same time, an analysis of schoolbooks and school vocabularies will indicate which materials are beyond the comprehension of the children because of lacks in experience and vocabulary.

The specific remedial measures will add to the school program: (1) necessary vocabulary and language ability to express experiences; (2) new experiences so that the children will have something to express; and (3) interpretations of experiences to prepare the children to comprehend new and related experiences.

With the improved ability of the teachers growing out of their understanding of the causes and specific nature of the language handicaps, with the deliberate development of useful vocabularies to meet civic, social, religious, vocational, and school situations, and with the emphasis on remedial efforts on specific idioms and grammatical constructions in games, dramatizations, and similar activities, these children should be helped in meeting their adjustment problems—they should be given a real, effective education.

THE YONKERS RECREATION SURVEY

Recreation has been recognized as one of the pressing community needs by neighborhood councils, the schools, junior councils, P.T.A.'s, civic organizations, the Yonkers Coördinating Council, the courts, and several public departments. Surveys of adequacy of recreational facilities have led to confusing findings because a tabulation of attendance reports of all agencies does not allow for over-

lapping memberships and a comparison of the total recreation space and service with the population figures does not reveal the real problem—the availability of space and service according to the needs of natural areas.

The elementary schools of Yonkers, with one exception, participated in a careful questionnaire survey of the leisure-time activities of their pupils. This is the first comprehensive study of recreational opportunities and habits from the standpoint of the participants—the children of Yonkers.

The results will be tabulated and interpreted for use in the following ways: (1) by the teacher in understanding and helping individual children; (2) by teachers for group guidance in the use of leisure time; (3) by teachers in curriculum revision in terms of needs and experiences; (4) by principals in adapting school programs and facilities; (5) by junior councils, neighborhood councils, civic associations, and P.T.A.'s in neighborhood planning and improvement; (6) by the newspapers, the Yonkers Coördinating Council, the Recreation Commission, and the common council in planning and improving the city recreational program.

Excerpts from school reports follow:

The questionnaire for the recreation study was administered to 803 children in Public School 4. The survey revealed the following significant facts: less than 10 per cent of the children play in parks or playgrounds; 50 per cent play on streets, lots, and yards. This is due to the fact that the nearest playground is more than a mile away. Only 15 per cent frequent organized clubs, less than 20 per cent visit their friends, and an even smaller percentage attends parties. Evidently the children depend on the school for the bulk of their social experiences. Only 9 per cent reported that they help with the work at home, 5 per cent worked after school, and only 10 per cent reported that they worked from one to three hours in the garden. This is surprising in view of the fact that this rural community comprises a large percentage of foreign parents on economic levels below average who might well add to their revenue by gardening. The economic conditions and cultural interests of the community are reflected in the fact that 6 per cent take music lessons and practice. Over 60 per cent of the

children spend from one to three hours in the movies and 90 per cent spend from one to three hours listening to the radio. These are startling figures that education must consider.¹

The recreation study of the 403 children of Public School 12, in a foreign-background neighborhood, revealed that only half of the children use the playground on weekdays or Saturday and Sunday. This is due to the distance of the playground and its lack of recreational facilities. This probably accounts for the 40 per cent the survey shows playing in the streets and the 12 per cent loitering around the stores. Only 11 per cent of the children ride bicycles at any time during the day.

Striking is the small percentage (11 per cent) who are having cultural contacts through the library, the bookmobile, or trips, and also the small percentage (5 per cent) who have membership in any club or character-building organization. Forty-seven per cent of the children attend religious service and receive religious instruction and 12 per cent of the children work after school.

In the list of activities the children wished to engage in if they could, the largest percentage (25 per cent) wished to play games with their friends, and 25 per cent to play games with their parents. Reasons for not engaging in these activities were: "Haven't any friends," and "Parents are working," "Too busy," "Too tired," and "No games." Thirty-five per cent wished to visit the library more often but "It's too far," "Too dangerous," and "Mother won't let me."

The community should assume the responsibility of providing these children with recreational conditions for wholesome living, for under the present circumstances the children cannot develop normal habits in terms of physical and mental health. The school must strive to supply the children with those recreational experiences which are lacking in their homes, such as games, parties, club life, reading experiences, storytelling, dramatics, movies, radio, hiking, dancing, gardening, and hobby interests.²

Few children report working after school and a like proportion signify that they help with housework. This is not surprising when we realize that the community is composed of average home-owning parents. Over 15 per cent work in the gardens—further questioning revealing the fact that most had little flower plots of their own. The cultural and socio-economic conditions of the adults is reflected in the fact that 40 per cent

¹ From report of Sophie E. Sievers, Principal, Public School 4.

² From report by Agnita C. Wallace, Principal, and teachers of Public School 12.

of our children take music lessons, study dramatics and art. With the exception of the very young children, 75 per cent attend the movies, particularly on Saturday or Sunday. Three to four hours are spent in this activity. Ninety-nine per cent listen to the radio one to six hours per week. Only three children did not listen. The school must, of necessity, consider these potent educational forces¹

NEW VIEW CURRICULUM

Eljah Parmerter, *Principal, Public School 6*, and teacher groups

Our new curriculum units are worked out by the children through community surveys, investigations, and researches and are based on social problems found in the neighborhood, selected by the children because they concern their lives. The children attempt to remedy revealed conditions by their own efforts, if possible, and learn to enlist the assistance of city departments and community groups when necessary.

Below are brief descriptions of units worked out through this approach.

In a housing unit-of-work through the children's investigation of the *neighborhood housing problem*, unsanitary conditions were disclosed as well as violations of the Housing Ordinance. The children referred these to the adult Neighborhood Council. They then made a model of this area portraying the lack of recreational facilities and displayed it at four public-housing exhibits. Adults of the city and of our Neighborhood Council gave the problem publicity to obtain Federal aid for a housing experiment.

Our garden unit was based on the neighborhood problem of unsightly yards including that of the school. Community assets were tapped through the Boyce Thompson Institute which tested our soil and recommended fertilizer. Seeds were sold in the neighborhood; the city commissioner was petitioned to remove debris;

¹ From the report of Rocco E. Mancigno, Principal, Public School 22. Other collaborators: Lillian F. Morrow, Principal, Public School 24; Helen Brogan, Principal, Public School 9, and faculties of Public Schools 4, 9, 12, 22, and 25.

a committee from the Neighborhood Council was invited to judge the children's gardens. Later the neighborhood yards were improved. The whole community contributed to the solution of the problem uncovered by this curriculum unit.

In a unit on recreation, dearth of recreational space led the children to petition for the use of the armory parade ground although neighbors opposed the idea. The children were made mindful of consideration to those living near these grounds which they used only under supervision and through controlled activity. This same unit put a stop to children's invasion of a near-by churchyard. Teachers and parents recognized the children's great need through this curriculum unit and united in directing afterschool play.

The value of the "new view curriculum" lies in the opportunity children are afforded to live as actual citizens at their own age level. They work on real neighborhood problems that concern their own lives. They learn to utilize community assets and to overcome community liabilities through practising the techniques necessary in a democracy.

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EDITORIAL

The future of a democracy lies with its youth. America has always been aware that this is true. The development of our free system of public education, extending gradually upward to include colleges and universities, is evidence of this awareness. America has had faith that education would hold youth to the traditions and institutions of our democratic way of life.

Of late there has been evidence, however, that education is not enough. The controversy over our schools, one side of which is presented in Dr. Hutchins's series of articles currently running in *The Saturday Evening Post*, reflects this fact. The aspects of the curriculum most frequently and vigorously challenged represent the attempts of the schools to meet problems of youth which basically are not educational, and which it is questionable whether the schools can meet.

In this issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY the attempt is made to define more clearly the basic problem of youth in our democracy; and to clarify somewhat the role of education in relationship to that of other institutions and agencies in finding a solution of the "youth problem."

HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH

WHICH WAY AMERICA'S YOUTH?

HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH

New York University

I

In 1933, as unemployment month by month hit new lows, conditions became more and more unsettled, and signs of social unrest increased, there was growing speculation as to the possibility of a youth movement in America. America seemed to be repeating a social-economic cycle through which other nations had passed. Observers were mindful of the upheavals that had taken place in one part of the world after another, and of the role that youth had played in those upheavals—China, where youth had become the incarnation of an aggressive nationalism; Russia, where youth had been the backbone of communism; Italy, where youth had been the vanguard of fascism; Germany, where youth was the spearhead of Hitlerism. The question began to be asked: Which way America's youth?

No youth movement developed in America. Throughout the depression American youth remained politically apathetic. With "recovery," the youth problem was largely forgotten and speculation concerning the political potentialities of youth ceased. There remains, however, a youth problem for America to solve. Until this problem is solved, the political potentiality of American youth must be reckoned with.

It is the purpose of the pages to follow to look more closely at what happened to our youth during the depression, and at its situation today; to determine why there has been no movement of youth in America; to evaluate youth's present political potentialities; and to define the youth problem which America must solve.

II

As the depression, from 1929 to 1933, slid to its bottom, we became aware that we had in America a tremendous problem of unemployment. We became aware, further, that our youth were coming to constitute an increasing proportion of the unemployed. It was not until 1935, however, as a result of the statistics assembled by the President's commission named to study unemployment as a preliminary to the Social Security Act, and by the National Youth Administration, that it was possible to draw a reliable picture of what had happened to youth during the depression.

Whereas in 1929, of 48,479,000 employables, 2,860,000 were unemployed, in 1935, of about 50,656,000 employables, 10,735,000 were unemployed (in 1933, at the bottom of the depression, approximately 15,500,000 were unemployed). These were "official" estimates of unemployment, prepared by Robert Nathan for the President's commission.

There have been no official statistics on unemployment among youth. Unofficial estimates of idle youth (16 to 25) ranged in 1935 from 3,500,000 to 11,000,000. Estimates of idle youth, like unofficial estimates of the unemployed, varied with the biases of those making the estimates, and with definitions of "idle." For example, Dr. O. E. Baker of the United States Department of Agriculture estimated there were, in 1935, 3,000,000 youths living with and helping their families on farms, who in normal times would have left the farm. Their work was not needed on the farm. Whether they were called unemployed, in estimating idleness among youth, depended upon the point of view of the person making the estimate.

Aubrey Williams, director of the National Youth Administration, estimated idleness among youth in 1935 at a minimum of 8,000,000—3,000,000 of whom were on relief (half the relief load), and another 5,000,000 of whom were wholly unoccupied, out of school and without work. The 1935 census of employment conditions

among youths in New York City, conducted by the New York Welfare Council, found 21 per cent in school, 36 per cent employed, and 43 per cent unemployed. Deducting 10 per cent who were unemployable or not desirous of employment, there remained 33 per cent or 400,000 young men and women, between the ages of 16 and 25, in the City of New York, out of school, out of work, and wanting work.

How many of these youths might have been in school or not desirous of employment in "normal" times, it is impossible to know. But in 1935 they were unemployed. How typical the condition of youth in New York City may have been of the condition of youth throughout the nation, it is impossible to state. If the condition in New York was at all representative, about 33 per cent of the 25,000,000 youths of America were unemployed, or about the 8,000,000 Aubrey Williams estimated.

It is evident that unemployment, during the depression years, bore down more heavily upon youth than upon the employable population as a whole. No comparison on this point can be wholly reliable—the estimates for youth and for the population as a whole are derived from different bases, involve somewhat different definitions of unemployment, and overlap. But it would seem that whereas about 33 per cent of youth were unemployed in 1935, approximately 20 per cent only of the population as a whole were unemployed. Youth bore the brunt of unemployment during the depression.

The older generation found its plight incredible when in 1933–1934 the plight of youth began to get a hearing. America had been traditionally a young man's country. First, an expanding geographical frontier, with natural resources to be conquered, and then science and technology with its promise of a limitless expansion of industry had afforded youth boundless opportunity. Careers could be had for the taking. The future belonged to the strong and the daring. The strong and the daring were youth.

But in 1929 the industrial frontier, like the geographical frontier, had vanished. National expansion had ceased—employment was rapidly contracting. Youth was thrown into competition with age. As the depression deepened this competition increased. Youth had met such competition in previous depressions by underselling age in the labor market, and had fared relatively well. But during the recent depression a variety of forces combined to wrest from youth its only effective weapon, its willingness to sell its labor cheaply. Government and labor combined to maintain wage levels, keeping youth from employment, employers, preferring the more stable and experienced older man in reemploying, and social agencies giving preference to the man with dependents in finding employment combined to keep youth among the unemployed.

As a result the recent depression bore down upon youth as had no previous depression. Unemployment operated selectively against youth. The years from 1929 to 1933 witnessed the creation of a new class of the socially disinherited, the youth unwanted by the economic community, and not inaptly characterized as the "forgotten generation."

By 1934 we were aware that we had a youth problem, as distinct from the problem of unemployment as a whole. The picture of youth's situation, pieced together from the reports of social agencies, was shocking. Some eight million youths were faced with unemployment. They had no jobs nor the prospect of jobs. They had left school. They tramped the streets from one employment agency to another, rebelliously or despairingly, but nearly always futilely. Employment agencies interested in youth were driven to desperate expedients in the attempt to maintain youth's morale—rotating what jobs were available, and interviews with imaginary employers. Hundreds of thousands of youth had taken to the road, "thumbing" their way or "riding the rods," "bumming" their living, sleeping in transient camps or in "jungles," keeping alive, but many of them trying to forget there was a tomorrow.

Others sat at home, idle and brooding—insecurity and despair eating at their hearts like a rust. There were many indications that youth's morale was beginning to break. The numbers of youths in Federal prisons were rising—9 per cent in a single year. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene warned that increasing numbers of young men and young women were becoming discouraged to the point of mental breakdown. Social agencies reported larger and larger numbers of youths in municipal lodging and "flop" houses, the human junk heaps of our industrial society. There were many, if scattered, symptoms of an increasing ferment among youth. Slowly, falteringly, National and State Governments, and local community agencies, began to seek a solution to the "youth problem."

III

Thoughtful observers of what was happening to youth began to speculate upon the possibility of a youth movement, and the direction it might take. Consequently, the eyes of all interested in youth and its problems were turned upon the first American Congress of Youth, as it convened in New York in August of 1934. Here were representatives of more than one hundred youth organizations, including most of the national organizations, gathered to discuss their common problems, and to seek a way out. Youth was to speak.

By midnight of the first day of the congress the wires of press services were carrying to newspapers through the country the story that the congress had split wide open as right- and left-wing factions battled for control. Day by day the papers carried the details of this purported struggle. At the conclusion of the congress the two factions presented their differences on the air. Many friends of youth were bitterly disappointed. The public at large was confirmed in its opinion that youth is irresponsible. Many of the public were alarmed by the prospect of a revolutionary youth movement.

The true story of the first American Congress of Youth has never

been impartially told. The split was not between right- and left-wing groups. It was the field against the Central Bureau for Young America, which had called the congress. Rightly or wrongly, the great majority of youth groups invited to participate felt that the rules of procedure laid down by the Central Bureau precluded a free and representative expression of the opinion of America's youth. More than a dozen national youth organizations protested the proposed procedure before the congress. Among them were the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Communist League. But the protest was signed as well by representatives of the National Student Federation, the National Student Council of the Y.M.C.A., and the National Student Council of the Y.W.C.A., three of the more conservative youth groups in the country.

When the Central Bureau declined to change the rules of procedure, the fight was carried to the floor of the congress. It disrupted the original plan of the congress. But from the first to last it was a conflict over the principle of democratic control, of freedom of speech and expression of opinion. It is true the *Daily Worker*, ever alert for ammunition, hailed the result as the achievement of a united front among youth. But subsequent events have proved this united front to be an illusion.

The "left wing" of the congress incorporated under the name of the "American Youth Congress," and continues to function under that name. It has in the years since 1934 held annual congresses in various parts of the country. Its program has undoubtedly been "left," though its attempt to maintain the semblance of a united front has prevented its program going as far to the left as might have been anticipated, in the light of the role radical youth organizations played in bringing it into existence, and have played in keeping it alive.

Despite this attempt, however, the American Youth Congress has failed to achieve a united front, not merely among youth as a whole, but even among the small proportion of youths who are organized.

The majority of the "middle-of-the-road" youth groups have maintained only a nominal interest in, or connection with, the American Youth Congress.

The "right wing" of the original congress, incorporating under the name of "The First American Youth Congress," started an ambitious program for rallying college and university students. This program involved an itinerary swinging south through the Atlantic States, west through the Southern States, and up the Pacific coast, visiting college and university campuses and organizing sectional youth congresses en route. College and university students, however, proved indifferent; sectional youth congresses failed to arouse interest and rally delegates; and within six months the "right-wing" program had been abandoned.

"The First American Congress," perhaps unlike a few abortive youth groups such as the Silver Shirts, in no way represented a movement of youth to the right. In the heat of the 1934 congress it was dubbed "fascist," and its leader pilloried as a "Hitler agent," just as it dubbed the opposing faction "red" and charged it with "taking orders from Moscow." But its platform failed to bear out the charges leveled against it, as it failed to interest and rally what reactionary elements there were among American youths.

After the 1934 congress the middle groups, such as the National Student Federation, actively interested themselves in the Government's program for relieving the distress of unemployed youth, and played a significant role in bringing into being the National Youth Administration. They have shown no inclination to crusade for an organized youth movement in America; attempting rather to keep the nation aware of youth's needs, to contribute to the foundation of agencies for meeting these needs, and to make youth's influence felt in securing governmental backing for such agencies.

America's youth, then, has shown no tendency to move either to the left or to the right. America's youth has shown no tendency to move at all. This fact has been disappointing to many of the roman-

tically minded friends of youth. As a stormy petrel of the First American Youth Congress put it—"Youth is not red; youth is dead." This fact has been puzzling to many students of so-called youth movements abroad. There was no reason, however, to anticipate a youth movement in America. From the Children's Crusades to Hitler Youth, "youth movements" have never been spontaneous movements of youth, but rather the exploitation of youth's restlessness by adult groups.

In 1933-1934 American youth was becoming restless. But unsettled as were social and economic conditions, they were not ripe for the appearance of an adult conflict group which might raise a crusading banner about which youth could be rallied, in the name of which youth's rising ferment could be capitalized and exploited. And as the country began to climb back out of the depression, and the C.C.C., N.Y.A., and other agencies for the relief of youth's distress began to function, the symptoms of unrest among youth became fewer. America began to forget its youth problem.

IV

Our youth problem, however, remains with us. A year ago we faced the anomaly of "recovery" while there remained in our midst a "ghostly commonwealth" of 7,000,000 unemployed, a stagnant labor pool from which men were drawn when needed, into which men were poured when unneeded. Economists were predicting the likelihood of this pool of unemployed remaining a permanent part of our economic organization. Whether these seers may have been right or wrong, the present "recession" has brought us again face to face with the problem of unemployment.

While we have a problem of unemployment we have a youth problem. Unemployment continues, and will continue, to act selectively against youth. Neither government nor public has shown a disposition to attack the basic youth problem—that of making a place for youth in the economic life of the community. The policy

back of such Federal programs as the C.C.C. and N.Y.A. was clearly stated by Zook, when, as United States Commissioner of Education, in 1933, he said: "We have, therefore, the problem affording these young people a chance to work at something that is real . . . and yet something which does not result in a product in competition with the great army of wage earners." Whether a solution of our youth problem can be worked out on such a basis remains to be seen. In the meantime our youth problem continues to have definite social and political potentialities.

There seems, however, as in 1934, little immediate likelihood of a political movement among youth. The only possible rallying point for such a movement on the present American political horizon is communism. Communist youth offers a clear-cut problem. It is aggressive, and knows what it wants. It is trained in organization. It is disciplined, and ably directed from above. It has won, and is winning recruits among American youth. While youth's situation remains as it is, communist youth will continue to win recruits.

Some time ago, Mayor LaGuardia, approached by a writer who was preparing an article on radicalism in the schools, was asked: "What causes communistic sentiment in our schools?" He replied: "The lack of any solution of our economic problems." Asked what he proposed to do about the situation, this fiery mayor of New York City, famous for wanting to do things and then doing them, replied: "Nothing can be done about it—until economic conditions which create the situation are readjusted."

But communist youths are numerically few, and they are banded together on a program alien to the tradition of American youth. Watching chapter after chapter of various left-wing youth organizations (many of them high-school chapters) marching shoulder to shoulder in New York's May Day parade will continue to give alarmists ammunition, and the tender-minded part of the public the jitters. But while radical youth groups will continue to win recruits, there is no evidence that they are likely to win the alle-

giance of any considerable part of American youth, no probability of a communist youth movement.

There is as little immediate prospect of a "fascist" movement of American youth. There is at present no rallying point for such a movement. On the other hand it is possible that such a rallying point will appear. And should fascist troops ever march in America, they will march under the American flag, in purported defence of the traditions in which American youth is steeped. However, the United States is an enormous territory. Its population has diverse and conflicting sectional interests. Mass movements are unlikely to be as rapid and widespread in America as in European countries. Moreover, we have a definite attachment to democratic institutions which fascist countries lacked. The fact that fascism, like communism, is alien to the tradition in which American youth has been nurtured makes a "right" political movement among our youth equally unlikely in the immediate future.

V

Despite the immediate unlikelihood of a political movement among youth, to leave a large part of a generation feeling it is neither needed nor wanted in our economic life, that it has no stake in the life of the American community, bodes ill for the future. It is time we came to grips with the realities of our youth problem.

Ida Tarbell, striking the keynote of the Youth Today Conference, organized late in 1934 in New York by nine national character-building agencies, said: "The great challenge to youth today, if they are going to redeem the world, is that the world must be redeemed by character and character only. I have no sympathy with the point of view that character must wait upon wealth."

The same day, on the newsstands, a weekly magazine carried the story of an American journalist's conversation with a young Nazi storm trooper in a Berlin cafe. The young storm trooper bore, when off duty, a heavy cudgel in the form of a staff, which he could

use suddenly if rushed into street fighting. "Why are you so willing," asked the journalist, "to kill other starving fellows who are as decent and kindly as you seem to be at heart? You ought to be ashamed of yourself!" "Ja, ja," answered the young Nazi, "it's very easy for you, with money in your pocket, to sit there and upbraid me, who has neither. Give me a job at two marks a day, and I'll clean a sewer or carry a hod. But if you can't give me a job, don't you tell me how I'm to pick up a living."

Miss Tarbell was not facing the realities of the youth problem. Character need not wait upon wealth. But youth's readiness to fight for our traditional democratic ideals must wait upon youth's feeling that it has a place in the life of the American community. Ably as the C.C.C. and the N.Y.A. have tried to meet an emergency, they have failed to meet this fundamental problem. The "problem of affording these young people a chance to work at something real . . ." (something that youth can feel is necessary, vital to the life of the community and the nation) ". . . and yet something which does not result in a product in competition with the great army of wage earners. . . ."—this is the fundamental problem to be solved.

How is it to be solved? By sending youth back to school when youth wants no more school? By enriching youth's leisure, when that very leisure is a token of the fact there is no place for youth in the economic life of the community? By offering youth social service when youth wants labor? By building for youth the tradition of a period of service in the interest of community, state, and nation? The solution is not clear. But the basic problem is clear enough. And America will have a "youth problem" until it is solved.

Are State and Federal Governments to be left to solve the problem? Is youth to become wards of the State, rather than citizens of the community? The present trend is in this direction, due largely to the indifference of the public at large, and of the local community, to the basic problem of youth. It is unlikely the basic

problem of youth can be solved until this indifference is overcome, and communities throughout the nation accept local responsibility for making a place for youth. Until this problem is solved, we must expect an increasing drift among youth away from our democratic ideology and ideals. The real threat inherent in the present situation is the prospect of a next generation of citizens, a large part of which is disillusioned if not demoralized, having lost faith in the values and ideals of a society in which it has found no place, content to drift and be taken care of.

VI

If the drift of youth from our democratic ideals is to be stemmed, not only must the problem of making a place for youth in the life of the community be solved, but an older generation must keep its eyes steadfastly upon democracy. There have been all too many signs of late that our eyes are wavering. In periods of social unrest it has always been the strategy of extremist groups to use their opponents as bogeys to frighten those in the middle—with the result that those who are following the middle road, becoming panicky, turn aside and line up with one extremist group or the other. Extremist groups are employing this strategy today. Those who would hold to our democratic institutions find themselves in the middle of the road. On either side we find violently propagandist groups hurling across our heads at one another the epithets "communist" and "fascist." The epidemic of "red baiting" we have recently witnessed demonstrates that the strategy of one extreme is having its effect. The recent wave of picketings and mass demonstrations against "fascism" is a symptom of the success of the strategy of the other extreme.

Though many of those who cry "red" and "fascist" may be afraid for and loyal to our democratic institutions, their panic is nevertheless a threat to these very institutions. If history has a lesson to teach us in our present situation, it is that in our zeal to fight com-

munist on the one hand, and fascism on the other hand, we are all too likely to lose sight of the democracy for which we are fighting.

If we of the older generation lose our faith in democracy, if we even temporarily lose sight of our democratic ideals, we can expect our youth to do the same—even without their being pledged by adult groups to fight against communism or fascism. But if we keep our heads, refuse to become jittery and stampeded, and, instead of shouting “red” and “nazi,” reaffirm our faith in democracy by going to work on a constructive program for the preservation of our democratic institutions and traditions, we can expect youth to follow us. The weight of the tradition in which our youth has been nurtured is in our favor.

Such a program, however, must honestly attack, and promise the possibility of solving, the problem of social justice and security, and of personal fulfillment for all. And let us not forget that youth will demand that democracy provide justice, security, and opportunity for itself. Youth will no longer be put off with the stories of Horatio Alger.

HOW FARE AMERICAN YOUTH?

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Youth! What a term with which to conjure. Children eagerly look forward to the time when they will be young men and women; elders look back upon those few short years as the "good old days." Youth itself stands at the midpoint, seeking to shake itself free from the dependence of childhood yet reaching forward to face the realities of adult life. Ardently idealistic, fired by a zeal not yet dampened by disillusionment, they earnestly seek to make the world of tomorrow better than that which has been bequeathed to them.

In the aftermath of war, youth saw the promise of a new world snatched from their grasp through the blundering greed of diplomats. Democracies crumbled; the League of Nations became a hollow mockery. Technological change, followed by the cornerless depression, held youth at bay and took from them the one vestige of hope—the chance to gain a foothold on even the lowest rung of the industrial ladder.

The youth of many countries of the world are marching. They are marching behind banners of a harsh patriotism—a patriotism of Napoleon, of Fichte, and of Garibaldi. "The highest duty of a German youth is to die for his Fatherland." They are marching for personalities—for Hitler, for Stalin, for Mussolini, for the Emperor Hirohito, and for Chiang Kai-shek. The smoldering fires of hate are kindled through pageantry, songs, parades; through movies, radio, and textbooks. In labor camps and in organized youth movements they are rallying to the old cries of "La Patrie" and "Mare Nostrum." In three areas of the world they are hurling themselves

¹ The title and, unless otherwise indicated, the factual data of this article are drawn from Homer P. Rainey, *How Fare American Youth?* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937). It is a "report to the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education" by its director with the collaboration of members of his staff. Although a little book of less than 200 pages, it is the most comprehensive and challenging summary of the problems of youth that has thus far appeared.

before the incessant rattle of machine guns, staggering at each others' throats.

In the midst of world unrest when the zealously of youth has been made the tool of scheming imperialists, when economic security has been achieved only by diverting one fourth of a nation's income into the nonproductive avenue of war and preparation for war, when the youth of the world has demonstrated that they will follow false gods or true if only they will promise to lead them anywhere but here, it is well that we ask the question, "How fare American youth?"

Even impersonal statistics bear evidence to the seriousness of the problem. The declining birth rate has now reached the fourteenth year but the number of youths 15 to 24 will continue to increase from 20,126,794 in 1930 to 21,900,000 in 1944. The ratio of youth to those 25 to 59 years of age will continue to decline from 57 per cent in 1870 and 40 per cent in 1935 to 30 per cent by 1955. The ratio of youth to age varies from 63.3 per cent in South Carolina to only 30 per cent in California. In rural areas there are 53.3 youths for every 100 elders 25 to 59 years of age, while in cities the ratio drops to 37.7 to 100. Youth will continue to gravitate toward the cities; in 1900, 60 per cent of all youths lived in rural areas; in 1930 only 44 per cent. There are approximately 2,000,000 farm youths whose labor will not be needed for production. It is apparent that no single solution of the problems of youth is possible due to the wide variations between urban and rural areas and between States, the increase in the older group which is greater than that of the youth group will bring constantly greater competition for the chance to work.

In a suburban city¹ 20 per cent of the young people 16 to 25 years of age had sought jobs in vain and another 16 per cent had procured only part-time employment. Of those who had found employment many were in blind-alley jobs and an increasing number of

¹ From an unpublished report

girls had accepted work as domestics for the pittance of \$1.50 to \$4.00 a week. From Houston, Texas, from Pennsylvania, from Minnesota come data corroborating these facts. Lynd and Lynd² found that a decreasing number of those who begin at the bottom in industry have any opportunity to rise above the level of unskilled labor. Of the total of all gainfully employed persons in 1930, only 6.7 per cent were in the professions; yet studies of youth aspirations show that from 34 to 46 per cent of all young people seek a professional career. In thirteen communities, of those who left school, 82 per cent of the 16-year-olds were unemployed in 1935, 67 per cent of those 18, 50 per cent of those 20; and 35 per cent of the young people twenty-two years of age.

Youth is not deceived. Constantly they reiterate the statement, "I am afraid to graduate. While in school there is a sense of security but when I get my diploma I'll be expected to get a job. What will happen to me then?" Those who have watched the endless procession leave the protective environment of high school or college know what is happening to them. Disappointment often repeated begets distrust followed either by indifference and an attitude that the world owes them a living or by resentment and bitterness.

What can be done for these two million young people who annually reach the age of employment? The Commission suggests two principal measures: provide special assistance to youth in finding a job and raise the school-leaving age.

While it is true that some progress has been made to achieve the first through the establishment of the State and Federal Employment Service and through the assistance of the National Youth Administration, the major difficulty will not be met by such palliatives. The best placement service conceived cannot vocationally adjust 2,000,000 youths when there are but 1,000,000 jobs available. Through private initiative or, if that fails, through government action, existing labor and professional service must be divided

² *Middletown in Transition* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937)

among more individuals. If it means less profit to the few, it will bring greater distribution of purchasing power to the many. Surely this is not too great a price to pay for the economic security of our youth.

Extension of the period of compulsory education for youth would at least temporarily relieve the competition for jobs. Such a suggestion is but an impractical dream unless we are willing here also to go much deeper than such a superficial proposal implies. Three basic changes must precede or accompany such action.

First, some means must be found to equalize educational opportunity between the States and between rural and urban areas. Despite the fact that the Southern States *spend a larger proportion of their annual income for education than any other section of the country*, the per cent of children 14 to 18 in high school varies from 28 in Alabama to 35.8 in South Carolina. In Utah 95.6 per cent are in high school. In six Southern States the average expenditure for each school child in average daily attendance was \$29.79 in 1933-1934; in the six States making the largest expenditure for education, the amount was \$122.21 for the same year—more than four times as much. Each child in New York State had \$141.76 spent for his education that year; the child living in Mississippi received only such education as could be purchased for \$25.41. Yet Mississippi spent 4.78 per cent of its total income for education and New York only 3.48 per cent.⁴ Translated into comparative length of school term, qualifications of teachers and material equipment, the contrast is even more alarming. To this already startling array of data must be added the fact that 900,000 Negro children of elementary-school age are not in school and that only 4.7 per cent of the Negro population of high-school age is actually enrolled in secondary schools in Mississippi and Arkansas, with less than 10 per cent in five other Southern States. The contrast between rural and urban facilities for education is almost equally significant. In one

⁴ *Financing Public Education* (Washington, D. C. National Education Association) Research Bulletin, Vol. XV, No. 1, January 1937, page 9.

study of five counties in Wisconsin, "70 farm young men per hundred did not enter high school; 70 village young men did, and twice as many farm youths per hundred as village youths leave high school before graduation." To raise the level of school attendance without first frankly facing these facts and providing adequate equalization of educational opportunities would be as ridiculous as requiring every child to be born in a hospital without provision for additional hospital facilities.

A second preliminary step is also necessary before such legislation would be feasible. There is a definite positive correlation between the social-economic background of youths who drop out of school and the grade completed. If youths are to remain in school, some means must be found to provide for their expenses and to reimburse the families who are dependent upon them for income. The American Youth Act includes this as one of its major features but not only is the bill smothered in committee, but such aid as was provided through the N.Y.A. is being rapidly curtailed.

The final change which must be made is in the school program itself if any substantial number of youths are to be drawn out of the labor market through continuance in school. Here the authors have been realistic and present a forceful plea for the cultivation of "two types of intellectual maturity, two types of information, and two types of interpretation of the facts known to modern science and letters—one vocational in its interests and applications, one general, directly related to the common social life of humanity. At the beginning of secondary education, general education should be stressed. During the later years vocational education should come into prominence." The latter must be functional and specifically related to economic and industrial needs.

When these three changes have become a reality, when we are willing to launch forward courageously with a program that will sweep aside the social lag that has handicapped education, then and only then can we lengthen the educational span for youth and remove them from competitive labor

"In a country where three quarters of the school children examined have physical defects of one kind or another, where seven tenths of the industrial workers under inspection suffer from physical ailments, and where in one year one fifth of the young men applying for Army and Navy service were rejected because of physical weaknesses, the health of youth is apparently an item of no mean significance." Studies of health and income show that families of low income have 40 per cent more illness than those receiving an average income of \$420 a year per individual, and yet spend the same per cent of their gross income for health services. The studies of the Brookings Institution disclose that even in the peak of prosperity (1929) most of the families of America had incomes that prohibited expenditure of any considerable sum for health: 21 per cent had an annual family income of less than \$1,000, 42 per cent less than \$1,500, and 71 per cent less than \$2,500. Add to these data regarding physical health the many factors producing mental and social maladjustments, such as overstimulation, economic insecurity, and competition, and the problem of the health of youth becomes all the more acute.

In the field of recreation, much progress has been made in provision for physical facilities, yet much more needs to be done. One community of 25,000 has not a single organized recreational agency or playground and last summer three children were killed by automobiles while playing in the streets in front of locked school yards. School grounds and buildings should be open every free hour for the use of the young people and adults of the community. Adequate leadership is badly needed. The entire community must coördinate its efforts if it is to meet the criticism of the Commission: "Training for self-sufficiency and enjoyment of life, like training for citizenship and marriage, has been left for youth to pick up as best they may."

How fare American youth in the home? The depression forced 1,500,000 young people who normally could have been married to

postpone this step. Increasing conflict is inevitable. Problems of sex behavior are especially perplexing. In New York State alone there are twenty-five times as many new cases of syphilis and gonorrhea annually as in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark where the combined population is approximately the same. One study of clinic cases shows more new patients among 19-year-old girls than of any other age. "But education, at least that on the secondary level, continues to deal with the problems of youth as if neither disease existed." The jury in the *Youth vs. Society* trial held in Orange, New Jersey, indicted society "for indifference to and ignorance of the problems of youth in respect to marriage."

In meeting the responsibilities of the larger citizenship, youth faces even greater difficulties than in economic insecurity, home life, or recreation. Here he is faced constantly with glaring inconsistencies. He is taught a high idealism yet discovers that highly "respectable" citizens fail deliberately to put it into practice in their daily lives. He is told to respect the flag and the Constitution and learns the ideology of democratic government, but discovers that much of the vaunted symbolism is but a cloak to protect vested interests and that politics differ widely from the textbook descriptions of democracy. He is instilled with patriotism only to discover that it is a chauvinistic nationalism which deters our Congress from admitting that there is a war in China, lest the enforcement of the Neutrality Act interfere with our profits!

Through youth organizations, dodgers, school papers, and forums, youth continues to hurl its challenge, "We are the builders of a new world." They cannot build it alone nor do they seek to do so. It is a process of evolution and not revolution. Through a frank acknowledgment of our failures and a realistic facing of the present emergency, we must join hands across the years with youth. "We have hardly tapped the spiritual energy of youth. To a large degree, our ability to avert catastrophe and bring about a day of social justice depends upon our utilization of this energy and courage."

THE YOUTH OF NAZI GERMANY

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"Whoever has the youth has the future," is one of Hitler's oft-repeated phrases. For the attainment of this future, he has taken complete charge of youth's physical, emotional, and intellectual development. To understand how Hitler's domination of youth has become a *fait accompli*, it is necessary to keep in mind the unusual and perhaps tragic circumstances under which this generation grew up. It is perhaps even wise to consider the roots of National Socialism or Hitler's Germany under the Third Reich. The submission of individuals to the will of the state, that will determined by a strong *Führer* (leader), is not new. Dictatorship of a kind has always been part of the pattern of German culture, tradition, and philosophy and might explain the psychology of the present German mind. Thus, Germany of Hitler's Third Reich is understandable in the light of certain permanent key characteristics of the German people, which clearly manifested themselves in the medieval First Reich and in the Second or Bismarkian Reich. Both of these empires were founded upon the principle of a strong leader with a subservient national group. It might also explain why the German Republic, founded after the abdication of Emperor William II on November 9, 1918, and patterned, in part, after the English parliamentary system, failed so miserably, that after the death of Hindenburg on August 2, 1934, Hitler was able to have himself proclaimed president and chancellor of the Third Reich. Germans never had had training in any phase of democratic life and so it is small wonder that the Republic rapidly disintegrated into political party entanglements which paved the way to an easy road to dictatorship.

The German youth movement is not new with Hitler. It dates back to 1900 when youth, tired of the strict discipline and regi-

mentation of school authorities and the mechanization of life which was making machines out of men, banded together to seek relief from these pressures. The young German worker, tired of the routine of factory life, and the German student, equally tired of the repressive measures of the school which he believed was crushing out his individuality, sought freedom in a return to nature and the simple life in the out-of-doors.

The *Jugendbewegung* or youth movement spread rapidly from this time on. Small bands living as a family under self-elected leaders roamed all over the country, cultivating a spirit of independence, strength of body, and a sense of social discipline and coöperation.

There was nothing essentially political about the German youth movement between 1900 and the outbreak of the war. As has been stated it was primarily to escape from the severe intellectualism of the school on the part of students and to escape from the machinery, materialism, and routine of modern industrial life on the part of the young worker that youth banded together in a common program. The pressure of events which followed the war, however, did much to change this attitude.

At the outbreak of the war a temporary check was put upon the movement. However, the ideals for which it stood had sufficient time to become stamped into the minds and spirit of young Germany, so that after the revolution they fitted in admirably with the aims and aspirations of the New Republic. For here already formed was an organization that preached a love of national tradition, a love of the people, and a love of their Fatherland. Under the Republic youth was neither forgotten nor neglected, for beginning about 1919 and in the course of less than ten years some 2,200 youth hostels were developed in Germany. However, after the war the young men returning from the front came face to face with the reality of poverty, hunger, unemployment, and unsettled political conditions. Those young men who grew up in Germany during the period

of the war likewise felt the hardships of the times. Born into a war and coming of age at a time when depression had resulted in a high point of despair, they naturally felt a strong resentment and antagonism against the elder generation whom they held responsible for the misery inflicted upon them.

In the face of a life of uncertainty and hopelessness the romantic aspects of the earlier German youth movement seemed a hopeless and innocuous thing at best. The war and the depression combined to make the German youth movement a much more serious affair. Youth resented the rather paternalistic attitude displayed toward them by the Republic. They wanted power and a chance to shape the policies of the government. There was no need for a return to the simple life, for, after the inflation, poverty was forcing all Germans, those who had previously been rich and the poor alike, to live the simplest life. It was at this time that the youth movement changed its character and became predominantly political.

Although the Republic and the parties supporting it had their youth movements they made no concerted bid for the support of youth to aid in the political, social, economic, and moral rehabilitation of German life. Hitler did and so did the leaders of the communist group.

The communists at one extreme urged the immediate overthrow of the Republic and the establishment of a communistic state ruled by the working class. They preached a brotherhood of workers, talked of the class war that would have to be waged to include all classes within the working class. Their visions took them beyond the small confines of a German national state into the realms of an international alliance of workers. These young communists had seen enough of war and destruction. They preached a gospel of peace and the discard of chauvinistic propaganda which they felt was the dominant motivation for war. However much the Republican Constitution demanded that education be inspired by the desire for international reconciliation and peace, nationalistic propa-

ganda drowned out these cries. "November Criminals," "traitors of the Fatherland" were responsible for the humiliation of the Treaty of Versailles and, although a minority in the Republic asked for peace and reconciliation as a basis for reconstruction, the majority of the Germans were still intensely nationalistic. It was these nationals in the Republic who, after guaranteeing in the Constitution the rights of minorities to dissent, promptly set about to force the communists and other dissenters underground by repressive measures.

Hitler, on the other hand, and his Nazi followers preached a thoroughly German doctrine so well known and ingrained in German philosophy. The reestablishment of a great empire was based on the "unity of all classes into a single national state." Convinced that things could not be accomplished pacifically, it was through a show of national strength, welded firmly together by nationalistic, religious, and racial sentiments, that Hitler aimed to repudiate the reparations, abrogate the Treaty of Versailles, regain colonies lost by Germany after the war, and, in general, vindicate the "National Honor." Further than this, Hitler made a direct appeal to youth, rendering lip service at least to the belief that they and they alone would determine the destiny of Germany. More important, however, he promised them work and an eventual life of prosperity in the glorious new empire to be created by the National Socialists.

With conditions getting worse instead of better, youth transferred its loyalty to the leader who promised them the shortest road back to security. In the winter of 1932 conditions had become desperate. Unemployment had risen to the staggering number of something well above six million and there was no relief in sight. The doles, which were found too heavy a burden for the taxpayer to carry, were far too small for the unemployed to live on. Suffering was widespread and among those hardest hit were the vast numbers of unemployed, disillusioned youths. It was they who, ready to grasp at any straw, fell prey to Hitler, the leader, who promised them

most vociferously work and bread. They were immediately, in ever increasing numbers, mobilized into the ranks of the Storm Troopers and "Hitler Jugend" (Hitler Youth) and became the *avant-garde* of Hitler's rise to power. The old political parties were crumbling and with them the allied youth movements fell to be absorbed later into the Hitler youth movement. In 1932 and 1933 nothing could be gained by being an adherent to the communist party except an opportunity to die for a remote ideal, so thoroughly and systematically were they hunted out and put into prison or concentration camps.

From 1933 on, youth has played a most important role in Germany, and if we are to read the destiny of Germany we must look to the Hitler youths and study their growth. It was and is an organization that captured the imagination of all youths and had an irresistible appeal which the other youth organizations did not possess. By appealing to the emotional, primary wishes of youth with symbols, martial music, the use of color, uniforms, etc., youth was fired with enthusiasm for their new leader. It was soon understood, however, that the emotional appeal of these symbols alone was not enough and Hitler appealed to youth to unite against their common foes both within and without Germany. He instilled into them the idea that it is glorious to die for "freedom and honor" and called upon youth to establish a firm foundation for building the third and most glorious empire that Germany had ever known.

The Reichstag fire, and the events that followed, made Hitler the man of the hour for he was looked upon by all as the one who had saved Germany from the immediate menace of communism. Hitler was lavish in his bestowal of credit for his success on youth and other followers.

I remember with what dismay, in those early days of complete control when Hitler claimed the whole of German youth for his own, I listened to the speeches of Hitler and the lesser satellites of the party whipping up the emotions of youth and playing upon the theme that Germany was being "debauched" by foreign powers

through the Treaty of Versailles. They spoke continuously of a "united front" and used this to unite youth in defiance of their common enemies, real or imaginary, the Jews, communists, socialists, and all others whose political, racial, and social beliefs differed from their own.

Under a barrage of propaganda, individual groups of the old youth organizations either voluntarily disbanded or joined the Hitler Jugend. The most sweeping victory came in the summer of 1934 when the Protestant youth organization influenced by the entreaties of pro-Hitler clergymen coordinated their group with the Hitler youths.

Guaranteed religious independence and protection for its adherents in a Concordat between Hitler and the Vatican, the Catholic youths, in the face of extreme proselytizing, repeatedly refused to ally themselves with the Hitler youths. They held out long against pressure but they too were finally coerced in 1935 to combine with the Hitler youths.

Today, at least a semblance of unity of youth has been achieved and Hitler can on the face of this claim the whole of German youth as his own. In spite of all one hears to the contrary there is in Germany a considerable amount of criticism of the Nazi youth organization. This comes from various sources.

1. Underground movements of other political organizations for youth.
2. The church leaders—the only articulate opposition to Hitler's policy at the present time in Germany—who view with alarm the spread of pagan worship in the youth organization
3. Teachers who view with alarm the ever increasing demands of the state upon the school and leisure time of students. Nor do these same teachers, realizing the effect upon impressionable young minds, countenance the type of propaganda which they are forced to repeat in their classrooms¹

¹ The essence of the special brand of Nazi racial education which is taught in the schools is to be found in a book *Trust No Fox on the Green Heath and No Jew Upon His Oath*—a

4. Parents who are fearful of what the end product of such complete regimentation will be. Intelligent parents object to the inculcation of a particular brand of race hatred, mythical or otherwise, and the complete domination of a child's time, his interests, and his affections.

Opposition of this kind is hard to suppress but it is being systematically attempted. What the achievement of a united front in the youth situation will mean to German youth only time can tell. Following the Hegelian philosophy of state, youth today has no rights but only a duty and that duty is to the state. The philosophy underlying the youth movement today in Germany is that it is not a movement of the state for youth but an organization of youth for

(*footnote 1 continued*) Picture Book for Old and Young, by Elvira Bauer (Nuremberg Sturmer Publishing House, 1936) Thousands of copies of these "nursery rhymes of hate" were sold and distributed to children all over Germany. A brief translation will suffice to show the viciousness of this type of literature.

"When God the Lord made the World,
He also created the races
Indians, Negroes and Chinese
Likewise the Jews, the evil beings,
And we too, were also there,
The Germans among the others
Then he gave to all a portion of earth,
That it might be cultivated by their labor
The Jew took no part in that work
But from the very beginning, the devil seized him,
He wished not to work, but only to deceive
He was the ace of liars
Learning quickly and well from his father the Devil
He wrote all this in the Talmud "

We turn the page and two pictures draw our attention. One shows a tall, well-built, blonde young man stripped to the waist leaning for the moment on a shovel. The other, the Nazi conception of a "typical Jew"—obese, with shrewd, coarse features, overdressed, and in his role of parasite we see him, with stock reports jammed into his pockets. The author describes the picture as follows:

"The German is a proud man
Who can work and fight
Because he is so handsome and so full of courage
The Jew has hated him for many years!
Here is the Jew, you can see at once
The greatest scoundrel in the whole country!
He believes himself to be most handsome
And yet he is so ugly "

the state. Complete subservience, unquestioning obedience to constituted authority is the highest "good"

The claim that Hitler has saved the youth of Germany by firing it with enthusiasm, setting it to work, and giving it a great nationalistic ideal seems admirable at first. Untrained observers, spending a week or two in Germany marvel at the transformation which Hitler has accomplished with youth. Today, as servants of the state, they are no longer broken in spirit, disillusioned, or despairing. They march along with a show of complete solidarity singing and believing *Deutschland über Alles*. They are today united for the common purpose of building a new and greater Germany, not only equal to the other nations of the world but superior to them.

No one will deny that there has been a radical transformation of German youth and Hitler deserves the credit. But we must measure this change in a scale of values. Will the change benefit German youth over a period of time?

Originally created as a movement to achieve a certain degree of individual freedom and a well-rounded personality free from the pressure of regimentation, the German youth movement has degenerated into the most subservient of organizations, submitting its last vestige of freedom and individuality to the yoke of Hitler's regime

The transformation has been accomplished. But to what purpose if this has been achieved at the expense of inculcating wrong attitudes instead of the right ones? Unfortunately, in times of stress youth can be easily swayed by those who appeal to their emotions. They can be shut up within a closed world of a national totalitarian state and given ideals which seem to us not only unsound and unsocial but inimical to the welfare of a nation and ultimately to the world.

Because the nazification of German youth is predicated upon the fact that education results from every contact of the individual, both the formal and the informal aspects of education are controlled by the government. Not only in school, but in the movies, radio, and

the press, Nazi propaganda is at work impregnating youth with its ideas. Its effects are obvious. German youth, indoctrinated as it has been, feels itself duty bound to stifle all who are in disagreement with their views. Herd-mindedness is at its peak. The questioning or criticism of authority is treason.

In spite of assurances from Baldur Von Schirach, Nazi youth leader, that German youths are allowed religious freedom, he has been teaching that Christianity is taboo. As a follower of Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, high priest of the new Nazi culture and religion, he is an exponent of a new and strictly German religion, a form of pagan worship of the old German gods, Woton and the rest who typify certain ideals in keeping with the tenets of Nazism. According to a recent article in *The New York Times*, ministers who teach brotherly love, tolerance, and good will are persecuted and despised, for these are ideals to which only weak men subscribe.²

The description of the youth of Germany is not a unique picture but typical elements are to be found in the youth movements of all dictator nations. In Italy and Russia regimentation and complete domination of youth proceeds apace. Communist leaders in Russia and fascists in Germany and Italy are determined to possess youth body and soul. As Hitler and Mussolini claim all youths for their own, Stalin is uniting Russian youths to be the defenders of the fatherland in the coming crisis. All three are accomplishing their purposes in a closed world in which youth learns only those things which careful planning permits them to learn.

Youth today is the pawn in the hands of angry "Gods." What the key characteristics of certain national groups will be as a result of this type of nationalistic education only time will tell. Viewed by any rational standard, it is hard to subscribe to the idea that Hitler has been the dominant force for good in the lives of German youth

² *The New York Times*, March 20, 1937

ORGANIZED YOUTH IN AMERICA

M. M. CHAMBERS

American Youth Commission

National associations composed wholly or largely of young persons are of interest to all who have perceived what a large part the regimentation of youth has played and now plays in the plans of European dictatorial regimes. There is a widespread and well-grounded feeling, however, that American youths are not likely to play a role similar to that of some of their European contemporaries. The very fact that in this country hundreds of separate national organizations compete for the allegiance of youth tends to demonstrate the absence of any totalitarian youth movement. Observation of the vastly diverse purposes of these national groups reveals that anything approaching militant solidarity does not exist.

This situation is eminently satisfactory to many who would regard an inclusive national youth organization as a very dangerous instrument, likely to fall into the hands of demagogues and to be manipulated with disastrous results to the public peace and welfare. On the other hand, there are some young persons who, feeling keenly the burden of the economic hardships which their generation faces, and regarding their difficult situation as largely of the making of befuddled or selfish oldsters, cherish more or less vague aspirations for the growth of some organization in which the power of all youth could be mobilized and made a unified and effective force in national affairs. Probably this feeling arises almost wholly from the privations resulting from the depression, and may diminish as that unhappy era recedes, and the youths of the bleak nineteen-thirties pass on to maturity, leaving their places among the ranks of the young to be filled by another wave reaching adolescence at a time when the economic picture is rosier, and when the atmosphere of despair engendered by the dark discontent of depression years has given way to a more generally optimistic outlook.

THE LARGEST GROUPS

Without determining the merits of any of the foregoing attitudes, it is possible to look more closely into the present panorama of organized youth on the national level. There are about twenty associations large enough to claim a membership of 100,000 or more young persons. Only six report their membership as being 1,000,000 or more. By all odds the largest one is the American Junior Red Cross, reporting 8,351,000 members. Possibly next in point of size is the International Society of Christian Endeavor, reporting approximately 4,000,000 members in all parts of the world, but making no estimate of the number in this country alone. The third ranking claim is that of the American Youth Congress, a loose federation of a great variety of national and local organizations, some of which are inclined toward a leftward political and social philosophy, reporting an aggregate of 1,600,000 individuals.

Beyond this point there are three national groups having memberships of slightly more than 1,000,000 each. These are the Four-H Clubs, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Boy Scouts of America. Among all the organizations just mentioned overlapping of memberships exists, but no one knows to what extent. All of them except the last two enroll youths of both sexes. To complete the quantitative picture of the better known groups, it may be added that the cluster of young people's groups associated with the Methodist Episcopal church, chief among which is the Epworth League, claim an aggregate enrollment of more than 600,000. Two Catholic youth organizations estimate their membership at half a million each. The Baptist Young People's Union estimates 325,000. The Young Men's Hebrew Associations and Young Women's Hebrew Associations enroll about 265,000 young persons, and are both affiliated with the Jewish Welfare Board, which also numbers among its constituency other types of Jewish community organizations, the whole being estimated to consist of 350,000 persons. About 410,000 young women are members of the Young Women's

Christian Association. The Girl Scouts number 400,000; the Camp Fire Girls, 222,058, the Boys' Clubs of America, 263,013. The Future Farmers of America, an organization for boys, estimates total enrollment at 117,000. The National Student Federation, which is a league of the organized student bodies of about 150 colleges and universities, reports that 225,000 students are enrolled in these institutions.

Only four of all the foregoing organizations report annual headquarters budgets of \$700,000 or more. The largest budget is that of the Y.W.C.A. (\$1,188,000), which covers a considerable amount of work in foreign countries as well as the headquarters program of the National Board in the United States. The Girl Scouts report a headquarters budget of \$1,131,000; the Boy Scouts of America, \$958,000, the Y.M.C.A. National Council, \$741,000. The combined budgets of the local units of the Y.M.C.A. in the United States amount to about \$40,000,000 annually. No similar report for the units of the Y.W.C.A. seems to be available. The scouting organizations do not conduct local enterprises involving any large sums of money as a rule. More than \$5,000,000, however, have been invested in permanent Boy Scout camps; and there are about 300 permanent Girl Scout camps.

SKETCH IN DOLLARS AND CENTS

The total value of buildings and physical equipment owned by the Y.M.C.A.'s is about \$165,000,000. For the Y.W.C.A.'s a comparable figure is not reported. The only other national youth organization having physical plants aggregating large value is the Boys' Clubs of America, whose local units own buildings and equipment worth more than \$14,000,000. Endowment funds of substantial size exist for only a few national groups of young people. Speaking of funds reserved for the support of the national headquarters alone, the Y.W.C.A. National Board leads with an endowment of about \$5,320,000. The Y.M.C.A. National Council is endowed with the sum of \$2,535,000. The aggregate endowment of its local units is

approximately \$18,000,000. The Boy Scouts of America have a headquarters endowment of about \$1,665,000. The Boys' Clubs of America report only some \$9,000 as headquarters endowment, but have other invested funds in excess of \$100,000. The local units of this organization possess endowments aggregating about \$3,600,000.

Only one youth organization in addition to those already named reports a headquarters endowment of as much as \$100,000. This is the Girls' Friendly Society, a group affiliated with the Protestant Episcopal church, possessing \$150,000 in permanent funds. The Brotherhood of St. Andrew, an Episcopal organization for boys, has an endowment of more than \$85,000.

Returning to the scanning of national headquarters budgets, we find the American Junior Red Cross with about \$225,000, and the Jewish Welfare Board with about \$140,000. Among national youth organizations having headquarters budgets of less than \$100,000 annually are the Boys' Clubs of America, \$90,000; the Camp Fire Girls, \$88,000; the Sodality of Our Lady, \$85,000, the National Student Federation, \$40,000; the Epworth League, \$39,000; the Girls' Friendly Society, \$36,000; the Order of the Rainbow for Girls, \$31,000; the Young Circle League (Youth Section of the Workmen's Circle), \$27,500, Aleph Zadik Aleph (a junior auxiliary to the Jewish Order of the B'nai B'rith), \$25,000; the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, \$20,000; the Luther League, \$18,000, the American Youth Congress, \$17,000; the American Student Union, \$16,000; the Future Farmers of America, \$15,000; the Boys' Brotherhood Republic, \$15,000; the American Youth Hostels, \$15,000; the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation, \$13,500, the Junior Hadassah, \$12,000; the Youth Fellowship of the Reformed Church in America, \$12,500; and the Catholic Boys' Brigade, \$10,000.

Such is the picture of prosaic facts concerning the financial resources of organized American youth. This discloses nothing of the

distinctive *esprit* of the different organizations, nor of the heterogeneous pattern into which they distribute themselves on the scale of political and social thought. The groups discussed above may be said to fall roughly into several categories. One class may be identified as "character building" with a strong social-servant slant, and in some cases with a considerable religious infusion. Another type embraces the avowedly religious organizations which are for the most part auxiliaries to churches—Catholic or Protestant. Somewhat similar groups exist for Jewish young people, but usually have an admixture of emphasis upon the Jewish national history and literature in addition to the religious motif. A third grouping is composed of organizations of students. Again, there is a type of organization seeking to represent the aspirations of American youth for economic and social betterment, without distinction as to the religious or educational status of its adherents. Other recognizable types include the youth auxiliaries of several well-known patriotic, political, fraternal, and labor organizations. Added to these are a few groups primarily for rural youth, generally characterized by emphasis on occupational advancement.

WHAT DO YOUTHS BELIEVE?

As noted heretofore, one of the principal current sources of interest in youth organizations is curiosity as to what flavoring of economic and political philosophy they bear. Is it true that American youths are going dangerously radical, as occasional alarmists suggest? Or is it true that the great masses of our young persons take an apathetic and unimaginative attitude toward political and social questions, and are conservatives by reason of mere inertia if for no other cause, as many observers would have us believe? Probably neither of these observations is quite correct. Among many of the youth organizations here mentioned there is indeed a noticeable "pinkish" tint, if such a descriptive term may be used to designate a tendency to take an active interest in progressive modifications of

the more oppressive features of the capitalistic system, and to regard with tolerant curiosity the proposals of various left-wing groups who aspire toward a society characterized by such phrases as "the coöperative commonwealth" and "production for use and not for profit." Nearly every Protestant denomination, as well as the Roman Catholic church, has greater or lesser numbers among its clergy who possess keen noses for social injustice, and the courage to propose measures to eliminate its grosser forms. Such an attitude has many attractions for the youth of today, especially since the wide diffusion of high-school education has equipped a large proportion of our boys and girls to comprehend current social issues to an extent never possible hitherto.

The tendency to question the sanctity of some outworn elements in our economic order not only runs throughout the religious youth organizations, but also permeates in varying degree the character-building and social-service youth groups. Allied with it, and often overshadowing it in prominence, is the solicitude for the preservation of international peace which is actively promoted by many important organizations, and which has assumed during recent decades something of the proportions of a major popular crusade, analogous in some respects to the great campaigns for such causes as women suffrage and national prohibition, which rocked American society to its foundations for many years. Although the peace movement is often marked by excesses which are common to all great reform waves, it can scarcely be regarded as a cause for alarm. There seems little likelihood of its contributing to a national catastrophe by actually weakening the national defense or the national morale in the face of armed antagonists; and there is much possibility of good if the enthusiasm of peace advocates can be wisely directed toward the building and strengthening of effective agencies of international cooperation and organization.

The doctrinaire left-wing youth organizations, such as the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Communist League of the

United States of America, are small in membership and minuscule in finances. It must be said that despite these handicaps they demonstrate sustained zeal and disciplined organization, such as to put to shame the relatively nebulous and evanescent youth clubs periodically sponsored in preelection seasons by the major political parties. It is quite unlikely, however, that these small and militant doctrinaire groups will succeed in gaining the attention of any considerable proportion of the American youth population in the near future. Surely it is an error to regard them as a serious menace to American institutions or as a threat to social order.

DIVERSITY AND BALANCE

Mention of the red flank of the political spectrum calls to mind the fact that the various left-wing contingents are heavily balanced by numerous other youth organizations which lean far to the right. The patriotic groups, such as the Sons of the American Legion, the Children of the American Revolution, and many others, more or less aggressively combat all extreme radical sentiments. Similar purposes form part of the cardinal aims of certain fraternal organizations such as the Antlers of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks; and are likewise shared by some Catholic groups, notably those auxiliary to the Knights of Columbus.

Moving slightly inward from the antithetical extreme shades of political opinion, we find some very large and influential youth groups well to the right of center. The two great rural youth organizations—the Four-H Clubs and the Future Farmers of America, though neither overtly propagates any particular political creed—nevertheless foster a mildly conservative attitude on public questions in subtle but powerful ways through the general tone and basic premises of their whole programs. To a considerable extent this same observation holds true of the great national scouting organizations for boys and girls, and even to a lesser extent it is applicable to the Christian Associations for young men and young women. This

latter statement does not contradict the earlier observation that the character-building and religious organizations are to a degree permeated by militant dissatisfaction with existing social injustices. Within each organization there are wide variations. The same condition prevails among the strictly religious youth groups. Probably political liberalism is relatively stronger among Jews, and conservatism comparatively more prevalent among Catholics, while the center of gravity among Protestant youth is still toward the rightward end of the political arc.

The foregoing discussion gives only a meager idea of the diversity and balance of American youth organizations. The majority of our young people, as has been observed by many who have opportunities for understanding them, display only lukewarm interest in political or economic doctrines, and may thus be rated as mildly conservative in their attitudes on controversial questions. Youth in the large is but little affected by the efforts of extremists on the one hand to whip up rampant reactionary sentiments, or by the strivings of zealots on the other hand to stimulate a militant radicalism. More important than the political complexion of youth organizations are their social-service and public-welfare functions. In this area of human service there is not so much necessity for complacent tolerance of cross-purposes as there is in the political sphere. From the standpoint of real social service to youth, much might be gained by a persistent coöperative effort to bring the service programs of our diverse youth organizations into closer relation and better coördination.

Even a compact listing of the purposes and activities of the numerous national associations makes a substantial volume. Such a descriptive directory of some 330 youth-serving organizations has just been issued by the American Youth Commission.¹ Condensed data regarding membership, publications, staffs, and finances are included, as well as statements of the aims and current programs of

¹ *Youth Serving Organizations: National Non Governmental Associations* (Washington, D. C. American Council on Education, 1937), 327 pages.

the hundreds of organizations. After digesting this information, a logical next step would be a coöperative search for ways and means of improving the articulation of the many service activities. Some wasteful competition and duplications no doubt exist; yet the whole program is meager and fragmentary by modern standards, and unknown millions of youths are scarcely touched at all by any organization of this kind.

Assuming that there are undeniable benefits for youth to be derived from membership in voluntary associations for worthy purposes, the absence of such opportunities for many youths may constitute a serious social deprivation. The subject is intriguing not only from the viewpoint of the well-rounded development of young persons individually, but also from the angle of education for co-operative citizenship.

DETERMINANTS INVOLVED IN BOY TRANSIENCY

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This study is concerned with the cases of 3,352 boys registering at the Los Angeles bureau of the Federal Transient Service during the year from August 1, 1934, to July 31, 1935, on whom verified information was obtained from some social agency.¹ It is felt that because the study has been based on verified material it constitutes a genuine contribution, in view of the fact that all other studies in the field were either based on the unsubstantiated statements of the boy to the worker, or unverified records of the Federal Transient Service.

Before attempting to analyze the reasons why these boys went on the road, it is pertinent to discuss briefly the composition of the group. This will be divided into the following areas: age, duration of transiency, origin of migration, color and nativity, family background, and educational background.

AGE

Table I portrays the number and percentage of boys within the age range considered. Boys older than 20 were referred to the men's department of the Service. Boys 15 and under were usually cared for by private agencies in the community. It will be noted that the modal age is 18, with the 19-year-old group just behind.

DURATION OF TRANSIENCY

The question of time on the road may well be considered under two subdivisions: the number of trips on the road, and the duration of time elapsed since leaving home on the last occasion. Table II illustrates the results obtained concerning the first of these two items.

¹ For a description of the administration, organization, and procedure see George E. Outland, "The Federal Transient Program for Boys in Southern California," *Social Forces*, 14, March 1936, pages 427-432.

TABLE I
AGES OF TRANSIENT BOYS STUDIED

<i>Age</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
16	390	11.6
17	547	16.3
18	911	27.2
19	880	26.3
20	624	18.6
Total	3,352	100.0

TABLE II
NUMBER OF TRIPS ON THE ROAD

<i>Number</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
One	2,321	69.5
Two	490	14.5
Three	127	3.8
Four	59	1.7
Five	17	.5
Six or more	17	5
"Several"	136	4.0
"On and off for years"	174	5.2
Not ascertained	11	.3
Total	3,352	100.0

It will be seen that more than 69 per cent of the entire group were making their first trip on the road, and that only 16 per cent had more than two trips. In so far as the number of times on the road may be used as a criterion, it can be stated that the group here studied was, on the whole, inexperienced in the ways of transiency, that their migrations had begun since the onset of the economic depression, and that with few exceptions they could not be classified as seasoned or habitual wanderers.

Table III portrays the time elapsing since each boy left home on the trip that he registered at the Los Angeles bureau. For purposes of

contrast, this table has been broken into those making their first, second, or third or more trips away from home

TABLE III
DURATION OF TRANSIENCY

<i>Time</i>	<i>Boys Making First Trip</i>	<i>Boys Making Second Trip</i>	<i>Boys Making Three or More Trips</i>	<i>Total</i>
Less than 1 month	876	200	144	1,220
From 1 to 3 months	717	159	143	1,019
From 3 to 6 months	348	81	74	503
From 6 months to 1 year	246	41	29	316
From 1 to 2 years	69	7	48	124
From 2 to 3 years	29	0	2	31
From 3 to 4 years	7	0	0	7
More than 4 years	4	0	0	4
"On and off" indefinitely	0	0	107	107
Not ascertained	9	2	10	21
Total	2,305	490	541	3,352

Here again the evidence points to the fact that the boys studied were new to the ways of the road. Eighty-two per cent had been transient less than 6 months; 67 per cent had been on the road less than 3 months, while 36 per cent had been migratory less than one month before registering at the Los Angeles bureau. More than one fourth of the entire group (26 per cent) were making their first trip on the road, and had been away from home less than one month.

ORIGIN OF MIGRATION

The boys studied came from every State in the Union, one territory, and two foreign countries. Texas led the list with 415 cases, or more than 12 per cent of the total number. Vermont with one boy was at the bottom of the list. Table IV gives the number and percentage of boys coming from each of the large areas of the United States, together with the percentage of the total population in each of these areas according to the 1930 census.

TABLE IV

ORIGIN OF TRANSIENT BOYS BY REGIONS, CONTRASTED WITH TOTAL
PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of Boys</i>	<i>Per Cent of Boys</i>	<i>Per Cent of Population</i>
New England	117	3.5	5.7
Middle Atlantic	442	13.2	21.4
East North Central	789	23.6	20.6
West North Central	412	12.3	10.8
South Atlantic	200	5.9	12.8
East South Central	199	5.9	8.1
West South Central	746	22.2	9.9
Mountain States	309	9.2	3.0
Pacific States ¹	123	3.7	2.0
Miscellaneous	15	.4	

It can readily be seen that the percentage of boys coming from the New England, Middle Atlantic, South Atlantic, and East South Central regions was lower than the percentage of the population of those areas, the percentage coming from the East North Central, West North Central and Pacific States slightly larger; while the percentage coming from the West South Central and Mountain States was markedly higher. Proximity to California was probably one of the chief causes of these divergences, while the unusually large number coming from the West South Central States was partially conditioned by the drought, as well as by a high Mexican influx from the city of El Paso, Texas.

The present study tends to confirm the widely held opinion that the great number of young migrants came from urban areas. Without tabulating this material by States it can be stated that 2,643 of the boys or 78.7 per cent of the total came from urban districts (It will be remembered that the percentage of urban population for the country as a whole is 56.2) Only four States contributed a smaller

¹ California figures are omitted in all of the sections here

percentage of urban boys than the proportion of urban population as a whole, and two of these had such a small number of cases as to make the comparative percentages worthless. On the other hand, many States, predominantly rural in character, sent a high share of their boys from their urban sections.

Not only did the big percentage of transient boys come from urban areas, but they came from the larger cities. Of the total group, 1,285 or 38 per cent came from cities of over 100,000 population, as compared with the percentage of 29.6 for the population as a whole.

COLOR AND NATIVITY

"Transiency was predominantly the migration of native white persons,"¹ states the government statistician, and the statement is also true for the boys here studied. Approximately 88 per cent are included in this category. Table V brings out the extent to which the youthful wanderers were made up of native white stock.

TABLE V

COLOR AND NATIVITY OF TRANSIENT BOYS

<i>Nativity</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Negro	317	9.4
Foreign born	87	2.6
Native white (total)	2943	87.9
(Native, American-born parentage)	2154	64.2
(Native, foreign-born parentage)	789	23.6
Other races	5	.2

These figures compare favorably with those of the population as a whole, with the transient boys showing a higher percentage of native whites of American parents, and a lower percentage of foreign born. The Negro ratio is almost the same.

¹ John N. Webb, *The Transient Unemployed* (Washington, D. C.: Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research), Monograph III, 1935, page 33.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Discussion of the family backgrounds of the transients will be made under the three sections of size of family, marital status of parents, and economic situation.

The young migrants came from unusually large families. The average number of children per family was 4.6, with the native whites showing an average of 4.5, the foreign-born whites 5.1, and the Negroes 4.1. Only 8 per cent of the boys were only children in their respective families, while approximately 62 per cent of the boys came from homes in which there were 4 or more children.

Table VI shows the marital status of the homes from which the 3,352 transient boys came.

TABLE VI
MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS OF TRANSIENT BOYS

<i>Status</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Parents married and living together	1,486	44.4
Home broken	1,866	55.6
By death	1,277	38.1
By divorce	381	11.4
By separation	208	6.2
Total	3,352	

It would appear that the fact that 55.6 per cent of the boys came from broken homes is significant, and must be given careful consideration as a determinant in transiency. The figure is higher than that found in cases of delinquency, for example. In 1933, the marital status of the parents of 43,102 delinquent boys reported by 67 juvenile courts in this country shows a percentage of only 33 for broken homes⁴.

⁴ *Juvenile Court Statistics and Federal Juvenile Offenders* (Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1936), United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 232, page 31.

Further study on this phase of the family backgrounds brings out that 25 per cent of the boys had stepfathers or stepmothers; that .8 per cent were illegitimate children; and that more than 14 per cent had been raised out of the home, either by friends or relatives, in foster homes, or in orphanages. It should also be mentioned that 40 of the boys, or 1.2 per cent, were or had been married.

Table VII presents the occupations of the chief breadwinner in each family represented, together with the number on relief and unemployed.

TABLE VII

OCCUPATION OF CHIEF BREADWINNER IN FAMILIES OF TRANSIENT BOYS,
AND EXTENT OF RELIEF AND UNEMPLOYMENT

<i>Occupational Grouping⁵</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>On Relief</i>	<i>Unemployed</i>
Professional	91	2.7	9	2
Business, semiprofessional	541	16.1	72	17
Skilled labor	960	28.6	239	33
Semi- or slightly skilled	547	16.3	124	33
Unskilled labor	569	16.9	150	28
Not ascertained	589	17.6	412	63
No home	55	1.7		
Total	3,352	99.9	1,006	176

Several facts stand out from this table. The high number of boys coming from homes where the breadwinner was a skilled laborer is partly accounted for by the fact that in this classification farm owners and proprietors were included.

The most striking fact in the table, however, is the high number of relief and unemployment cases found, not only in the total, but in each of the occupational groups. More than 30 per cent of the families represented were active relief cases at the time the boy left home,

⁵ The classification here used is Terman's reorganized grouping of the Taussig 5-grade system as listed by Miss Armstrong, Clairette Armstrong, *660 Runaway Boys Why Boys Desert Their Homes* (Boston: The Gorham Press, 1932), pages 59-61.

and an additional 5 per cent had no member of the family working. When there is added here the large number of families on the lowest subsistence level, which information is indicated by many letters of verification but which cannot be adequately tabulated, the importance of the economic factor may be seen. It would appear that the brief study of family backgrounds would indicate at least three factors which were probably determinants in causing transiency: the large family, the broken home, and economic insufficiency.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Students of the transient problem have varied widely in their opinions and findings as to the degree of education of the young migrants. While one has stated that "they were a fairly well-educated group,"⁶ another has just as flatly declared that "on the whole they lacked education."⁷ The writer has previously made a study in this particular field, and has been inclined to the former position.⁸ The present study would tend to corroborate that view. Table VIII portrays the amount of formal schooling by last grade finished.

From this table stand out the facts that the average grade finished for the entire group was 9, that almost 59 per cent had completed one or more years of high school, that 14 per cent were high-school graduates, and that only a little over 1 per cent had had less than three years' schooling.

The group, as a whole, showed a retardation of .97 years, a figure which compares not unfavorably with the general population.

Adequate information could not be obtained in the majority of cases as to reasons for boys stopping school, but a few of the findings relative to drop-outs and transiency might be mentioned.

⁶ John N. Webb, *op. cit.*, page 39.

⁷ Thomas Minehan, "Boy and Girl Tramps of the Road," *The Cleaning House*, 11, November 1936, page 137.

⁸ George E. Outland, "The Educational Background of Migrant Boys," *The School Review*, 33, November 1935, pages 683-689.

TABLE VIII

SCHOOLING OF TRANSIENT BOYS BY LAST GRADE COMPLETED

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Number</i>
0	7
1	4
2	5
3	23
4	62
5	92
6	172
7	327
8	690
9	519
10	607
11	373
12	418
13	38
14	10
15	2
16	1
Not ascertained	2
Total	3,352
Mean	90 + 04
S.D.	2.14 + 03

1. For the group on whom information could be obtained, it was found that the general reasons for dropping out of school were economic, educational, and social, in the order named.

2. Almost one third of the cases (31.7 per cent) left school before reaching the minimum age limit in their respective States.

3. Approximately half of the total group did not go on the road until two years after leaving school; two thirds of them did not go until they had been out of school for at least a year. These figures would seem to indicate that the school occupied a relatively low place as an immediate determinant of transiency

DIRECT CAUSES OF TRANSIENCY

Boys usually leave home because of a complication of reasons, and the present study has emphasized this point again and again. However, recognizing the danger of oversimplification, the writer has grouped the direct or immediate causes for transiency under the general headings in Table IX, taking in each case the one most important reason without which the boy presumably would not have gone on the road.

TABLE IX

GENERAL REASONS FOR BOYS LEAVING HOME

<i>Cause</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Economic	1,218	36.3
Social	890	26.5
Adventure, etc.	804	23.9
Reason connected with army, etc.	96	2.8
Personality defect	163	4.8
Educational	98	2.9
Miscellaneous	83	2.5
Total	2,352	99.7

Under the general grouping of economic causes have been listed the cases of boys seeking employment, those with a job or definite prospect of a job, those who left because of losing the job at home, and those who left because of sheer economic stress in the home. The present paper cannot quote from the hundreds of letters in the case files illustrating the economic factor as the immediate cause for transiency. Perhaps the following excerpt will indicate the general tenor. "This family has made a desperate struggle for existence, and has been very much handicapped in that Mr. B. is not in good health, and Mrs. B. is at the present time under the care of our county physician. They have a splendid employment record, but continued unemployment has broken their morale." Or the case of Fred, who took a freight train out of St. Paul because "he could not bear to stay longer in the home where the little children were in need of food"

The factor of social background ranks next to the economic reason as the immediate cause for transiency. Included in this general category are such factors as broken homes, discordant homes, trouble with parent or step-parent, trouble with the law, trouble with wife, drunken or immoral home, migratory family, etc. The trouble at home ranged all the way from a trivial quarrel with the parent to a father forcing his son into immoral relations with him. In some cases the basic cause for the home conflict is a combination of economic insufficiency and cultural differences, as the following excerpt illustrates: "The parents fail to appreciate the enormity of the present economic depression; they feel that the children are lazy because they do not find employment and make themselves self-supporting. They are extremely religious. . . . The family have brought many of their old world ideals with them, and this, coupled with the present economic distress, makes for unpleasant conditions in the home. . . ."

The third big general cause for transiency, the love of adventure, includes the cases of those boys who left to see the country in general, or California and Hollywood in particular, those who ran away to either the Chicago or the San Diego fair, those who left out of sheer boredom or restlessness, and those who wished to participate in the life of a transient camp. Also included in this group are the cases of those boys who left home to visit relatives. While the background factor of economic insufficiency runs through these cases also, it is not as prominent as in the other two previously mentioned; moreover a considerable number of cases are found here who came from wealthy or well-to-do homes. A Michigan lad, for example, was dissatisfied with his monthly allowance of only thirty dollars, and ran away "to see something of the world "

A small percentage of boys left home because of desire to join the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps or the C C.C. camps, or because of discharge, desertion, or rejection from one of these same service organizations.

Slightly less than 5 per cent of the total group went on the road

because of some mental or physical defect. The number of ascertained cases of feeble-mindedness was low; a larger number left because of poor health, and the hope of being able to recuperate in California.

Attention has already been called to the fact that the school appeared to occupy a small place as a direct determinant in transiency. Table IX shows that less than 3 per cent of the group left home because of some educational factor. Included in this group were boys who were failing or afraid of failing, those expelled or suspended, those who left in order to keep from continuing, and those seeking to continue their schooling in California or to earn funds to enable them to continue at home. As a background factor failing to hold boys through the secondary-school period, the school must be given a prominent place as an indirect determinant in transiency, but as the direct, primary, or immediate reason for leaving home it is comparatively unimportant. Furthermore, attention should be called to the fact that the present study did not reveal a single case of a boy forced to go on the road because of the closing of the school he was attending.

Under the classification of miscellaneous have been included those cases who left home "to be independent," those who left "for no reason at all," and those for whom the direct cause of migration could not be ascertained.

Attention should again be called to the fact that in most cases the multiple factor was present, and, although the present classification has been made on the basis of all available evidence, there was usually more than one determinant operating, even though a direct single cause could in most cases be found.

CONCLUSION

The numbers of boys on the road are evidently greatly reduced. As general conditions improve, the basic economic and social reasons for boys leaving home will be modified, the spirit of adventure will be sublimated into other channels, and transiency will tend to

become more and more the wandering of the personally maladjusted. However, with the lessening of the problem there should not be forgotten some of the lessons learned during the time of the problem. So far as the present study is concerned, it would seem that the major question is that of providing employment or worth-while leisure-time activity for out-of-school youth, while at the same time so adjusting the educational system as to prolong the school period through an increase in the holding power. The first part of the problem will have to come primarily through absorption in industry, although the school will necessarily occupy an important place through its vocational program, and through its coöperation in making available its facilities for recreational and educational programs for those whom industry is unable to take immediately.

The prolonging of the school period involves a vitalizing and enriching of the curriculum, more differentiated treatment, financial provision to enable the worthy student to continue when otherwise unable because of economic handicap (the National Youth Administration is evidently the first step in this direction), more adequate and better enforced truancy laws, and a more extensive knowledge on the part of the teachers and administrators of the social backgrounds from which their children come. An ambitious program, perhaps, but certainly not an impossible one.

Finally, it would seem that social workers and laymen should realize the necessity of some type of permanent, Federal framework for the care of migrant individuals and families in this country. A high degree of mobility we shall doubtless continue to have for generations to come, even though the particular problem of the transient boy appears to be abating at the moment. In order to cope with the problems raised by such mobility, a nationally controlled and financed organization would appear to be essential. "Back to the States" is only attempting to shift to smaller and less capable governmental units a situation which is essentially interstate and Federal in scope.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

LIBRARY ASSOCIATION PUBLICATIONS

A Guide to Bibliographies of Theses, by Thomas R. Palfrey, Department of Romance Languages, and Henry E. Coleman, Jr., Deering Library, Northwestern University, has just been published by the American Library Association, and is expected to make easier the usually difficult and often impossible task of ascertaining what American dissertations have been made or are in progress. It attempts to cite all available lists of titles or abstracts of masters' and doctors' theses prepared in United States and Canadian colleges from the earliest publication of such lists through June 1935. There are three sections: (1) general lists covering more than one subject; (2) lists in special fields by subject; and (3) lists by institution in which the studies were made (48 pages, \$1.00.)

The Libraries of Washington, a survey of library resources in the nation's capital, by David Spence Hill, staff associate of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, was recently published by the American Library Association. In this study of 166 governmental and 103 nongovernmental libraries, Dr. Hill describes the origin, nature, functions, and activities of the organizations served by each library as well as the character and size of its book collection and, in some instances, the services it renders. It is intended to aid scholars in locating research material, much of which is available on interlibrary loan. The index serves not only to locate each library but brings out the most important subjects in which each has special strength (312 pages, cloth, \$3.50.)

The publications issued by "New Deal" agencies from May 1934 to December 1935 are listed in the supplement to Jerome K. Wilcox's *Guide to Official Publications of the New Deal Administrations*, published by the American Library Association. Both the *Guide*, published in 1935,

and this supplement should be helpful in the study of the present administration, its many agencies, and in general consideration of social and economic trends. (184 pages, \$1.75)

OFFICE OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY RESEARCH PROJECT

The Office of Education of the Department of the Interior in Washington publishes a news letter entitled *March of Education* in which from time to time significant researches are described and their results indicated. The purpose of the news letter is to transmit quickly to educators important information coming to the Office of Education. It is mailed free to the subscribers to *School Life*. This publication has recorded progress in the university research project being sponsored by the Office of Education with the assistance of WPA funds. The University research project is one of five educational projects now nearing completion.

The sixty universities cooperating with the Office of Education by conducting coordinated research studies under the Project in Research in Universities have submitted most of their final study reports and the remainder are expected in soon.

Findings from the forty major studies which have been conducted in from one to thirty-one institutions each will make a significant and in some cases unparalleled contribution to educational records. Twenty-three Office of Education staff members who are serving as coordinators for the various studies are now engaged in bringing together the findings from the different institutions and in preparing manuscripts for publication as Office of Education bulletins.

Important educational problems have been attacked on a scale never before attempted and with facilities and opportunities which are not frequently available to research workers in education.

For example, a study of the occupational status of 75,000 alumni of thirty-one universities located in all sections of the country is rapidly nearing completion. Again, the 1931-1932 freshman entrants to twenty-five institutions have been followed through their university careers in a study of persistence in attendance, scholastic success, and other important aspects of college life. An integrated attack on the problem of the relationship between certain factors in secondary-school success and college success has been made in seventeen universities. Other representative studies have dealt with the economic status of rural teachers, the appor-

tionment of State school taxes and funds, unit costs of higher education, and various aspects of C. C. C. camp education.

A second important outcome is that local findings from many of the studies are being used as a basis for administrative adjustments and revisions of instructional practice in the institutions where the data were gathered. This is shown by the nature of comments received from local project administrators of many of the participating universities. The coordinated studies to be issued later as Office of Education bulletins will significantly increase the usefulness of local findings.

In the third place, and highly significant, employment has been furnished for several hundred research and other white-collar workers who would otherwise have been unemployed, and their talents have been directed into worth-while channels instead of representing an unutilized social resource.

BOOK REVIEWS

Planned Society: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow, edited by FINDLAY MACKENZIE, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937, 989 pages.

This book presents no blueprint for society as it should be but rather provides a frame of reference and orientation for those thinking in terms of social planning. Economists, sociologists, and statesmen discuss some of the more fundamental factors underlying the problems of control and planning in a changing society from early times to the present day.

At this moment when the words reform, control, and planning are being bandied about, when the National and State governments are attempting excursions into planning, on a partial basis at least, *Planned Society* comes as one of the most timely books of the year.

For the educator giving courses in economic theory, government, and business this book of readings makes an ideal text.

Middletown in Transition, by ROBERT S. LYND and HELEN M. LYND. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937, 604 pages.

Having read *Middletown* and often referred to the material presented in this earlier volume, the writer eagerly looked forward to the appearance of this supplementary study of Middletown during the ten years, 1925 to 1935. In some of the chapters, especially those dealing with caring for the unable, making a home, and the machinery of government, the authors have presented the same factual analysis as in the earlier book. The effects of the depression, the frantic struggle for Federal funds, the criticisms of local administration, and the conflicting influence upon human values are graphically drawn. At times one has the feeling of peering upon a moving drama through the eyes of one who understands the deeper significance of seemingly trivial events.

However, other portions of this second volume are little more than copied quotations from the first book or contain statements of so general a character that they could have been written without a return to Middletown.

Certainly the two volumes make an extremely significant contribution both to the field of social research and to the better understanding of ourselves as we traverse the complex maze of our community life

The Nature of Human Nature, by ELLSWORTH FARIS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937, 414 pages.

This book by one of the most astute students of social psychology deals with the nature of personality in relation to social life and culture and consists mainly of a collection of the author's contributions to various magazines upon the subject. Because of the fact that it is a collection of contributions designed for different types of readers, it lacks the unity possible in a book which the author might have presented. It, moreover, has considerable overlapping which detracts somewhat from the author's contribution which is distinctly the author's point of view and is perhaps best presented in his chapter which uses the title of the book—*The Nature of Human Nature*. In spite of certain weaknesses incident to the method of its construction, the book is one that will be read with deepest interest by every student of attitudes and it has the advantage of bringing together diverse material of the authors, a contribution in itself.

It is a book that should be read not only by the sociologists and students of sociology, but by teachers as well. The reviewer cannot but regret the inadequate emphasis upon educational sociology, but this would not invalidate the contribution of the book as a whole.

Housing Management, by BEATRICE G. ROSAHN and ABRAHAM GOLDFELD. New York: Covici, Friede, Inc., 1937, 414 pages.

As the title implies, this book is devoted solely to the management of housing projects. While it is written primarily in the light of large-scale, low-cost government housing, the principles presented and many of the specific practices described should be equally applicable to the management of smaller private housing projects.

The growing interest in housing and the recognition of it as one of our major social problems today should, however, make this very excellent analysis of vital interest to a much wider field than the title signifies. Social-welfare and religious workers, home nurses, community planning boards, as well as the many lay groups interested in promoting better housing can find specific illustrations, graphic descriptions, and basic principles presented in a clear style and convincing manner.

Four Years of Network Broadcasting. A Report by the Committee on Civic Education by Radio of the National Advisory Council on

Radio in Education and the American Political Science Association. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937, 78 pages.

This report is both revealing and disquieting. It should be read by every one who is on the side of education by radio. It might benefit the eternal radio-time seeker who sees in his priceless efforts the salvation of mankind. The broadcasting companies should give it a glance, but it is doubtful if they would recommend it as fireside entertainment for the members of the Federal Radio Commission.

The report reveals that "You and Your Government" was planned by or sanctioned by some of the best brains in education. Great ability is required to produce a great plan or even a good one, but that does not ensure satisfactory execution of the plan. The committee faced insufficient funds and difficulties with the National Broadcasting Company. It met the problems of speaker selection, broadcasting methods, quality of broadcast control, and merchandising. There was no way to measure results.

The committee recommendation is prefaced by a reference to "the double conflict between commercial and educational interests and between the chains and their individual stations. . . ." This ominous note reflects the tone of the whole report. It leaves this reviewer with a chilly, dampish feeling about the "next step," electrical transcriptions. Maybe the rest of you won't feel that way when you read the report.

The Daily Newspaper in America, by ALFRED McCLUNG LEE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937, 797 pages.

In this monumental work the author has given a comprehensive history of the newspaper and an exhaustive analysis of its present status including its physical basis, labor, ownership and management, chains, and associations, distributors advertising, and editorial staff. He has, however, written very much more than a history or a summary of existing data; he has made a study of the newspaper as a social instrument. The complex maze of social force which gave rise to and continually modified the policies and practices of American dailies and their influence upon those same forces runs as a unifying thread throughout the entire volume. It is interestingly written (the most readable Ph D. thesis the reviewer has read in many years), well documented, and contains an exhaustive bibliography for those who wish to make a more detailed study of specific aspects of the subject.

Research Memorandum on Religion in the Depression, by SAMUEL C. KINCHLOE. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937, 158 pages.

This monograph on research pertaining to religion in the depression is one of a series of thirteen sponsored by the Social Science Research Council to stimulate the study of depression effects on various social institutions. The experience of Professor Kinchloe and his intimate contact with the field make him the ideal person to undertake such a task.

The study stresses the importance of studying regional and local variations in religion as well as denominational and national changes. Emphasis is placed upon developing new techniques of study in religious areas such as membership and attendance, church finances, secularization, the minister and his message, and program and activities. He warns against evaluating these trends without a consideration of other social changes in the community structure.

This monograph is an indispensable manual for persons wishing to evaluate the church as an institution in the community. It should have a widespread appeal to ministers, educators, and sociologists interested in studying either social institutions or social processes. It cannot be recommended too highly as a research manual in religion.

Scholarship and Democracy, by J. B. JOHNSTON. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1937, 133 pages.

This book contains a thorough discussion of the Minnesota study of student achievement. This study has been under way long enough, and under Dean Johnston's leadership has been pursued so thoroughly, that this careful, critical review of the results will prove absorbing to those who have followed this investigation, and most instructive to all who are sincerely interested in the problem of what becomes, and is to become of the high-school graduate. In the reviewer's opinion, nothing has yet been done in this area that excels this report in scope, significance, and critical thinking.

Rediscovering the Adolescent, by HEDLEY S. DIMOCK. New York: Association Press, 1937, 287 pages.

This "rediscovery" of the adolescent is based on original data obtained from an intensive investigation of two hundred boys, twelve to fourteen

years of age when the study began, for a period of two years. The book presents a dynamic description of developmental changes from ages twelve through sixteen. The material includes activities and play pursuits, personality and behavior, friends and groupings, search for status, emancipation from parents, moral and religious thinking, physical and physiological changes throughout puberty.

Since the majority of the boys passed from prepubescence through puberty during the two years, the developmental changes can be appraised in relation to pubescent growth. In this connection the book explodes much conventional lore and its provocative contribution is established. The data show adolescent changes to be far less causally related to pubescence than is currently assumed.

Tables and pictographs are noteworthy for their clarity, cogency, and interest. The book is a revitalizing and timely contribution to a somewhat stultified field and should command immediate attention.

Superior Children: Their Physiological, Psychological and Social Development, by JOHN EDWARD BENTLEY. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1937, 331 pages.

The publication of another volume on feeble-minded children would merit scant notice. There is already a vast literature on such children. The publication of a volume on superior children is, however, an event. The literature on gifted children is meager. And yet gifted children are the nation's most precious resource. The little interest that has been shown in their nature and nurture is a national tragedy.

While Dr. Bentley's volume is not wholly an original contribution to our understanding of gifted children, it is an extraordinarily interesting and able compilation of the scattered literature concerning them. It is particularly valuable for having brought together, and integrated with our knowledge, the growing periodical literature. The last general book dealing with superior children, Leta Stetter Hollingworth's *Gifted Children: Their Nature and Nurture*, was published in 1926. Much has been learned of the characteristics and problems of gifted children in the intervening years.

Dr. Bentley covers in thorough fashion the problems of the nature of intellectual giftedness, its relationship to talent, and the physical, mental and emotional, and social traits of the gifted. Of particular significance, because so contrary to popular opinion, are Dr. Bentley's emphasis upon the personal stability and social adaptability of these children. The more

original material of the volume, dealing with the goals and methods of education for gifted children, and the relationship of their education to the problem of leadership in our democratic society, should prove of the greatest interest both to educators and social workers

One cannot but speculate, as one lays down this volume, what the effect upon our national destiny might be of diverting to the education of gifted children an amount equal to that which we spend upon the education of our feeble-minded children. One is inclined to believe that when ultimately the history of American democracy is written, the extent to which we have solved the problem of the conservation and utilization of the gifted and talented elements of our population will have much to do with that history

The Marginal Man, by EVERETT V. STONEQUIST. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937, 223 pages.

The characteristic, more than any other, that distinguishes man from the animal is his demand for social status, and opportunity for free expression and feeling of personality without those conflicts which divide his allegiance and put him in a position that makes feelings of inferiority inevitable. Because of this demand of human nature, *The Marginal Man* exacts the investigations of the sociologists and elicits the interest of the humanitarian, the statesman, and the social reformer. *The Marginal Man*, both the racial and cultural hybrid, displays special problems in modern society resulting from the world-wide mingling of races, nationalities, and cultures. The plight of the Negro and the minority cultural groups in America are examples of these culture and racial conflicts in their most acute forms and account for problems that beset us on every hand.

Several writers have attacked this problem from new points of view. Brown and Roucek have developed the theory of cultural pluralism, and Professor Stonequist, as Lewis Mumford aptly states, "examines the Marginal Man in all his typical mutations; he gives full weight to the disintegrating and the integrating forces that are at work. He shows that the personal problem of the individual with a mixed allegiance and a mixed heritage is essentially a social one, and that the social dilemma, in turn, is felt, then seized, and must eventually be resolved in the development of the individual personality." Such books will undoubtedly contribute much toward an understanding of our cultural conflicts and will help us to resolve them in terms of our developing democracy.

Social Psychology of Education, by A. O. BOWDEN and IRVING R. MELBO. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937, 286 pages.

This book presents the applications of social psychology to the problems of educational workers. The book covers the field of the social-psychological aspects of the learning process, how attitudes are formed and personality developed. It also deals with the ways and means of social control in a school and the classroom. The book is of value to prospective teachers with beginning classes.

Feeling and Emotion, by H. M. GARDINER, RUTH CLARKE METCALF, and JOHN G. BEEBE-CENTER. New York: American Book Company, 1937, 445 pages.

This volume deals with the history of theories of feeling and emotion. The first nine chapters were written by Drs. Gardiner and Metcalf and chapters ten and eleven, dealing with the nineteenth century, were prepared by Dr. Beebe-Center, Harvard University.

The authors trace the development of theories starting with the doctrine of the affections expounded by ancient Greeks from Heraclitus to Plato. Other chapter headings descriptive of the content of the volume are: The Doctrine of Pleasure, Pain and Emotion—Aristotle (II); Ancient Theories of the Affections (III); Patristic and Medieval Doctrines of the Affections (IV); Affective Psychology in the Period of the Renaissance (V); Systems of the "Passions" in the 17th Century: Descartes and Malebranche (VI); Systems of the "Passions" in the 17th Century: Hobbes and Spinoza (VII); Affective Psychology in the 18th Century: British Moralists and Associationists (VIII); Affective Psychology in the 18th Century: French and German (IX); Affective Psychology in the 19th Century (X); Affective Psychology in the 20th Century (XI).

The volume is scholarly, historical in nature, and comprehensive. It will be valuable supplementary reading to students of philosophy, aesthetics, and psychology.

How Modern Business Serves Us, by WILLIAM R. ODELL. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1937, 471 pages.

This book is the reflection of a twofold emphasis in education, the pushing down into the high school of courses leading to an understand-

ing of our social problems, and the transition of courses in business from mere skill to a functional and appreciational level.

In this volume five aspects of our social and economic life are presented: communication, travel, transportation, handling money and sharing risks, and budgeting and spending. Each is broken down into short units with problems and supplementary projects for the students. Interestingly written, and profusely illustrated, the book should definitely meet the growing need resulting from changing emphases. A supplementary volume, *Business: Its Organization and Operation*, which will appear in May, will make a more specific application of this general knowledge to the specific field of business.

Adventures in Buymanship, by KENNETH B HAAS. Bowling Green, Kentucky: Bowling Green Business University, 1937, 92 pages.

Dr Haas is one of the leaders in the movement for a strong program of consumer education in the public schools. He is particularly concerned with the business aspects of consumer education. For a number of years he has been publishing syllabi plans and programs for consumer training in the public schools.

In this booklet he offers the teacher a rich body of teaching materials. These "adventures" should be useful to every teacher interested in consumer education, for they strongly challenge the exacting procedures for buying.

In the exacting transitional stage of consumer education, challenging documents of this type are most welcome.

Abundant source materials and further references are given.

Numbers and Numerals, by DAVID EUGENE SMITH and JERUTHIAL GINSBURG. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937, 52 pages.

This booklet is monograph number one of a proposed series of Contributions of Mathematics to Civilization under the editorship of W. D. Reeve. The first sentence of the preface follows: "This is a story of numbers, telling how numbers came into use, and what the first crude numerals, or number symbols, meant in the days when the world was young."

The scope of this little book is told best in the chapter titles: Learning to Count, Naming the Numbers, From Numbers to Numerals, From

Numerals to Computation, Fractions, Mystery of Numbers, Number Pleasantries, Story of a Few Arithmetic Words.

Numbers and Numerals is good enough to find a welcome place in many arithmetic classes and in many teachers-college libraries.

Women After Forty, by GRACE LOUCKS ELLIOTT. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1936, 213 pages.

Women After Forty is the doctor's thesis of Mrs. Grace Loucks Elliott and is another attempt to set aside a specific area of women's life as different from any other area. While there may be some differences, it is probably not as marked as the attempt that has been made to show in this thesis. There is some very interesting philosophy and psychology which should be helpful to any one before or after forty.

The book contains many notable quotations from authors bearing on this period of life. On the whole, it is worth reading and will provide comfort to many.

Inter-Racial Justice, by JOHN LA FARGE. New York: America Press, 1937, 225 pages.

Father LaFarge discusses race relations as they concern the Negro in the United States, but the principles he proposes ought to apply to the entire social and political field. The Negro is presented not as a hopeless "problem," but as a powerful factor in national and religious progress. The author's solution is based upon a Christian philosophy of social justice and social action. Most of the material presented here is not new. But the work is to be commended as the first complete treatment of the doctrine of race relations from the Catholic viewpoint.

An Essay on the Nature of Contemporary England, by HILAIRE BELLOC. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1937, 91 pages.

The comprehensive title qualified by the phrase, "an essay," indicates the difficult task assumed by the author. He has characterized England as commercial, Protestant, and aristocratic. Weaving his discussion about these three characteristics, the author has presented a sympathetic and frank picture of the English. If he errs in the too inclusiveness of his "stereotype" he is easily pardoned because of the brevity of the essay which prohibits qualifications, his objective attitude, and his whimsical style.

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EDITORIAL

The depression has given impetus to a movement that began before the enactment of the first Pure Food and Drug Act: education in wise consumption. In its growth, it has developed three distinct but closely related phases: legislative, educational, and economic.

The first has been primarily of a protective type including both State and Federal legislation. Within the past three years a most significant new movement has developed. Three midwestern States—Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota—have enacted laws requiring “training and instruction in consumers’ coöperatives and coöperative marketing in the elementary and secondary schools of the State” and for the preparation of “suitable and necessary outlines and courses of study in the field as specified.”¹

Educational aspects of the movement have included the popular material presented in such books as *Skin Deep* and an increasing number of scientific and popular magazines and pamphlets; the development of courses of study in at least seven colleges: Amherst, Antioch, New School for Social Research, Ohio State University, Teachers College of Columbia University, and the Universities of Chicago and Wisconsin; the development of adult discussion groups; and the recent initiation of courses in consumer education

¹ Minnesota law

in high schools and in the upper elementary grades. The need for materials for each of these groups has motivated the preparation of this issue of *THE JOURNAL*.

The fact that there is no sharp distinction between education for general consumption and education in the coöperative movement as one method of consumer protection is abundantly evidenced in the legislation enacted and in the material available. It was the editor's original intention to limit this issue wholly to the educational aspects without including the third phase—the economic. While such material could have been assembled—and there is abundant need for constant emphasis upon sales resistance—it was obvious that the economic aspects of the movement were so interrelated with the educational that such a treatment would have created artificial distinctions, neither practical nor realistic.

The philosophy of consumer education is followed by a concrete description of schoolroom practices and procedures. The third article emphasizes the rural-education aspects of the problem; the fourth turns to the economic phase and summarizes the development of consumer coöperation in the United States; the last summarizes the growth of sociology in the high school and indicates another subject-matter field that is vitally concerned with this problem. The book reviews are selected also from this field and the research projects summarize available materials in consumer education.

FRANCIS J. BROWN

WHY CONSUMER EDUCATION?

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THE BASIC NEED: A CONSUMER-CENTERED SOCIETY

It is always appropriate to begin a discussion of consumer education with a few basic facts about the consumer. About eight times out of ten his family is supported by a farmer or industrial worker whose income, on the average, will not exceed twenty-five dollars a week. The man who lives next to me on a wooded lot at the edge of the city is a postman. He owns his own home and has given his two children a college education. In comparison with the mass of his rural and urban neighbors he is an economic aristocrat. Fundamentally, the average man wants to have greater security; a better home for his family; a fair share of food, clothing, and medical care; and a good education for his children.

Some years ago I made a comprehensive study of the consumption habits of the American people. At that time I found that the basic difficulty in consumption arose from the inadequacy of the income of the great mass of the families of the country. The majority of the families were financially unable to live up to even a moderate standard of decency and health.

I could discover no acceptable standard of living that did not exclude from forty to eighty per cent of the families of the nation. From the point of view of economic welfare one could immediately have found a demand for nearly twice the output of necessities. We could as a nation have doubled the consumption of milk; tripled the consumption of green vegetables and fresh fruits; built or renovated the dwellings of two thirds of the population; replaced about one half of the furniture by that of a better quality; and in addition we could have doubled the quantity consumed. We could have

tripled the consumption of electrical appliances and doubled the consumption of clothing.

These facts are set forth in detail because consumer education is likely to neglect the fundamental problem—to focus attention upon the consumer as the center of economic reconstruction. The welfare of the consumer is identical with the public interest. The functions of government, industry, finance, and the press should revolve around the interest of the consumer.

MAKING THE MOST OF AN INADEQUATE FAMILY INCOME

Improvement of consumption habits Since the appearance of the *Education of the Consumer* several other comprehensive investigations of the consumption habits of the people have been made. The most notable of these was made by Robert S. Lynd in 1933 for the President's Committee on Recent Social Trends. He reported substantially little change in the distribution of income among the great mass of families of the nation. He found an increase in the consumption of mechanical and electrical appliances. Fruits, vegetables, and dairy products entered increasingly into the diet of the American people. Besides these gains, there was considerable evidence of a wider use of the tinsel and sheen that became common during the boom and jazz period. Mr. Lynd also reported certain developments that intensified the need of intelligence in buying. He found that cheap imitations of luxury goods were being sold to an increasing amount. Brand names were driving real names off the retail market. There was an acceleration of style change rendering a large amount of commodities obsolete before they were removed from the shelves. Installment buying increased to about 15 per cent of store purchases.

The depression wiped out a good many of the gains in consumption that were made during the preceding decade. The gain in fresh vegetables, fruits, and dairy products was wiped out. The consump-

tion of cereals increased at the expense of foods that were rich in mineral salts and vitamins. The standard of living declined sharply. The need for consumer education is probably greater today than it was in 1924 when my study was first published.

With an inadequate income the average family is confronted with the immediate problem of attaining the highest level of living with its present resources. Day by day the great mass of people are blundering in their daily habits of consumption. Unwittingly, they reject beauty, health, and comfort. They are ignorant of the most economic habits of purchasing and using food, clothing, shelter, and fuels.

There is a common lack of knowledge of foods which yield the largest returns in food value for the money spent. Cheap foods having high food value are underconsumed, while expensive foods are overconsumed. The clothing of the people is not only insufficient in quantity but inferior in quality.

Price a major problem. Nothing affects the consumer more deeply than the prices he has to pay for goods and services. On the whole, he has been quite helpless in protecting himself against unwarranted price rises. Recently, in desperation, several of the more cohesive and articulate groups of consumers have taken to organizing buyers' strikes. In any event, as a first step, the consumer needs to be fortified with information. When a rapid increase in price takes place, the consumer should be able to make a rough analysis of its cause. Is it due to an increase in the cost of raw materials, the wages of labor, or increased cost of distribution? Or is the price due to an unreasonable increase in profits? Under the most favorable circumstances such inquiries will be difficult to make, but consumers need to cultivate the habit of doing this to the best of their ability.

Frequently an investigation into prices reveals the necessity of a social approach. Information concerning the cost of gas, electric, and telephone services is available but the consumer, individually,

can do nothing about it. Utility rates are largely the result of governmental regulation and policy—what State and Federal commissions do and fail to do. At the present time a dozen major oil companies are on trial for alleged conspiracy to fix the price of gasoline in a number of States. The consumer is here represented by the Federal Department of Justice, activated by a broadly conceived administration policy. Thus, the consumer discovers that the advancement of his purposes is intimately related to national politics.

EXPLOITATION OF CONSUMER IGNORANCE

Decline of integrity of seller. The direct contact between maker and buyer which formerly existed has broken down. As a result the producer and merchant have lost the old integrity which they once possessed. They no longer feel the necessity of being scrupulously fair and exact. Over a period of years, in an effort to increase profits, they have allowed their once high standards of business ethics to sink lower and lower. The discriminating consumer, consequently, finds that he must be a wary shopper. Food, like cream cheese or ice cream, that may have air churned into it, is given the appearance of larger volume and sold at a higher price. A gas treatment or a dyeing process is used to give oranges a golden glow. Fruit juices are diluted with sugar syrup and sold as pure. Inferior qualities of vegetables are sold in cans bearing luscious pictures and alluring adjectives. Cans differing by as much as four ounces are designed to give the illusion of equality. As much as 85 per cent of so-called silk may be metallic salts. Fabrics are marked preshrunk that actually do not live up to this claim. Birch and gum are given a mahogany veneer and sold as the solid article. Common pain-relieving tablets are frequently sold at four times their real worth. A few pennies' worth of "horse salts" are sold as crystals at exorbitant prices despite medical opinion which considers them danger-

ous when used continuously. Loan companies and financing corporations conceal high interest rates behind so-called six or eight per cent plans.

Brand names are driving real names of articles off the retail market. This practice conceals the intrinsic nature of the commodity. To cope with this tendency it will be necessary, of course, to cultivate an especially keen and critical purchasing intelligence. This, however, is not a new problem because it was always and will continue to be difficult to buy even the most common staples without more complete and exact descriptive information on labels, wrappers, and advertising. There is undoubtedly a very strong element in industrial, governmental, and consumptive circles which is destined to make more extensive use of standards of quality and performance in buying and selling goods. It is also inevitable that descriptive and specific information will be more commonly made available on labels, counter signs, and advertising. Some have the impression that these expedients will lessen the need for instruction of consumers. Nothing is further from the truth. The available aids will stimulate inquiry, observation, and experience with commodities hitherto unknown. Even assuming that this is not the case, it will still be necessary to talk the new shopping language, and to act in many ways on the information ascertained.

It is encouraging to note that the enlightened merchant is recognizing that an increasing number of purchasers is no longer satisfied to buy blindly. The embattled consumers, as it were, have penetrated the first line of defense. In a recent hearing before the Federal Trade Commission the retail merchants took up the cudgels for the consumer when they insisted that the branding or naming of the several kinds of rayon fabrics by the manufacturer should be completely and correctly informative. Should the organized retailers be successful in this campaign will the layman be competent to discriminate between rayon made by the viscose, acetate, and cu-

prammonium process? Will he follow up this information by adapting his laundering procedure to the nature of each of these products?

The ignorance of the average consumer. A mere sampling of facts about commodities should serve to show how poorly informed the people are about the common things which they buy and use every day. Meat, which is a disproportionately large item in the American diet, is a relatively expensive source of proteins. Under favorable price conditions it may be replaced, in part, by fish, eggs, milk, beans, peas, cheese, and nuts. Cheese is particularly rich in protein and, contrary to popular opinion, it is easily digested. Evaporated milk is a cheaper and safer food for infants than whole milk. All prepared cereals are more expensive than cooked cereals; furthermore, because they are puffed, they create the illusion that they are large in food content. Pink salmon is the smallest of all the salmons and has a delicate flavor. Because it is the most abundant it is cheaper than three kinds in the higher-price class. Flour bought in a five-pound bag costs a dollar more than when bought in a forty-nine pound bag. Rayon, when dry, possesses a high degree of strength and durability, but it loses half its strength when in the laundry tub. The best leather is the top grain split from the hide, and reputable producers stamp it thus. Any other term in which the word leather is expressed or implied is no index of quality. Investigation has demonstrated that expensive soaps may actually be inferior to several of the widely sold lowest price brands. Most stain removers consist chiefly of carbon tetrachloride, naphtha, benzine, or a combination of these which does not cost more than about thirty-five cents a gallon. The top-price gasolines do not necessarily have higher antiknock ratings than the regular-price fuels. Most cosmetics and perfumes are excessive in price because vanity is the most vulnerable point in the common variety of *Homo sapiens*.

Advertising exploits consumer ignorance. Advertising copy is the specific medium which private business uses for influencing

human behavior, although the unbought time and space of the press, radio, and cinema are not entirely untainted by the same motive. Over a period of three decades the buying habits of the people have been markedly changed. Although higher wages and technological improvements are probably the most important causes, there is no doubt that advertising also played an important role. The latter certainly accounts for the rapid increase in the consumption of luxuries, cigarettes, cosmetics, and for the acceleration of style change. In comparison with paid publicity, the influence of the school has been insignificant if not negligible.

Not very long ago an investigator examined one of the most popular women's magazines and concluded that 28 per cent of the advertising space was sold to clients making explicit or implied misstatements of fact. A monthly magazine having a circulation of over two million had forty-six untruthful advertisements, another thirty-two, and another forty. These magazines are among what are commonly considered the best advertising mediums in America. A home-economics investigator analyzed 300 booklets furnished free for classroom use and found that 37 per cent contained false statements, 43 per cent contained unsubstantiated statements, and 59 per cent contained misleading statements. Only one quarter of the whole lot received the unqualified approval of the investigator. Advertising charlatans masquerading as scientists have invented 93 hitherto unclassified human afflictions for which their brand of hokum is the specific remedy.

The radio, the press, and the motion picture are for hire to those who have goods to sell. As a result, these great vehicles of mass communication have often become carriers of misinformation. Of these the radio is the chief offender. The masses of people accept uncritically the daily ethereal effusions of unscrupulous promoters. They are accumulating a new body of fears and superstitions. Against these tremendous forces the school must wage a counter-attack of enlightenment.

SIGNS OF POPULAR DISCONTENT

Consumers organize for action. Usually a social need is crystallized in lay opinion before it is recognized by the school. Although the school has been making scattered efforts to educate the consumer over two decades, the various lay organizations of consumers have waged the more intensive campaign in the interest of the buying public. These groups should and will continue to exist, but the burden of consumer education falls appropriately upon the public school which is the great institution dedicated to the common welfare. A brief discussion of the work of these organizations will indicate the public demand for an educational program and point out the direction it might take.

The National League of Women Voters advocates protection of the consumer through Government agencies. It has campaigned for better food and drug legislation, quality standards, and labeling of consumer goods, it has favored a downward revision of tariffs through reciprocal trade agreements; and it has interested itself in power development as a yardstick for the measurement of a fair price for electrical current. The American Association of University Women is cultivating a very active interest in consumer education among its many branches. The latter have conducted exhibits, forums, and other activities for disseminating consumer information. The Association interested itself in the revision of the Food and Drug Act and in the establishment of consumer standards of quality. For some time the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs has urged the need for consumer education. The current program of its branches includes meetings to be devoted to discovering what the consumer gets and should get for his money.

The American Medical Association has waged a vigorous campaign against nostrums, quackery, and pseudomedicine. Through its popular journal, *Hygeia*, it attempts to give correct information

about nutrition and health to counteract the misinformation that emanates from commercial sources. The American Home Economics Association has the longest record of activity in the interest of the consumer. It has assisted in the formulation of standards of quality and has used its influence in translating these into law. The Consumers' National Federation is a most recent attempt to unite all consumers for the purpose of promoting educational and legislative programs for the protection of buyers. It is making it its special purpose to identify organizations that consist primarily of consumers as distinct from those that are tinged with business influence.

The recent rapid spread of the cooperative movement in America will stimulate an interest in every phase of the economics of consumption. The present administration protected the movement against the threatened ravages of the industrial codes; it encouraged coöperative experimentation through publications and through loans to coöperative power projects. According to recent reports there are roughly more than 6,500 consumers' cooperative societies, including 1,800,000 members, handling the whole range of goods and services in the modern economy. Although cooperatives have flourished mainly in the agricultural regions, they have more recently made inroads into the urban centers of population. During the depression, the coöperatives gave a demonstration of their superior ability to resist an acute business crisis. Compared with the many failures among private banking institutions, the cooperative banks had an almost perfect record of solvency. Since the coöperative consumer is especially sensitive to the ailments of competitive enterprise, he will be particularly receptive to any learning program that will improve his position. The coöperative movement is living proof that nearly two million adults and their children are immediately ready for consumer education.

The development of a consumer press. If the appearance of periodicals in new fields of interest is an index of a popular need, then

it is safe to say that there is a lively interest in the field of consumption at the present time. I know of at least sixteen periodical publications devoted to consumption which have come into existence in recent years and are distributed nationally. This number does not include the many organs of the regional cooperative societies. Of the total, eight are full-size, printed, monthly journals, five are of the bulletin type issued in printed or mimeographed form; and three are departments of larger publications. As far as I know, only three of these have been discontinued. At least three of these periodicals issue supplementary leaflets to guide the teacher in the classroom use of their publications. If the issuance of books and pamphlets is used as a measure of growing interest in a movement, then again I am able to report that my own collection has expanded beyond the capacity of four yard-length shelves.

There are a number of State and national governmental agencies that are giving the consumer all the services within the capacity of their limited appropriations. But these services are not entirely helpful in the many specific buying situations in the retail market. For this reason three organizations have arisen which, month by month, tell the consumer what goods and services to buy. While these purchasing guides do not reach more than one hundred thousand homes directly, their recommendations spread rapidly by word of mouth. There is therefore a recently created widespread interest in a hitherto unexplored field which touches the sciences, the arts, politics, and economics.

THE CHALLENGE TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

It has been the purpose of this article to indicate that there is a need for consumer education. I have taken pains to review the evidence of comprehensive studies which clearly indicate the importance of focusing attention upon the condition of the consumer in American life. Some evidence was presented to show the helplessness

ness of the purchaser in the retail market. It is obvious from the recent growth of lay organizations and publications that the public is particularly receptive toward consumer education at the present time. This argument has been presented time and time again in scholarly tracts and in informal articles and addresses. As a result, some progress has been made by the school in adding consumer content to the curriculum. But the slowness of the school in accepting greater responsibility for developing effective consumers is one phase of a larger and more fundamental difficulty—the failure of the school to educate for living. There are signs of a basic reorganization of the curriculum around the important areas of living. Only as progress toward this goal is made can we expect an increasing emphasis upon the education of the consumer

CONSUMER EDUCATION THROUGH THE CURRICULUM

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"Which face cream is best?" was a question which arose in the eleventh-grade science class of a progressive high school in New York. Each girl student had her own opinion, and defended the particular brand she used. After discussion, the class decided to test opinions, by making analysis of the most popular brands. The science laboratory became a busy workshop. Students working in committees tested sample face creams for the presence of harmful abrasives and skin irritants. They broke each sample into basic ingredients. They figured out the costs of these ingredients if bought separately in fair-sized quantities at drugstores. As a result of their analyses, the class reached two important conclusions. The retail price of a branded face cream is many times larger than the cost of its ingredients. Some of the highest-priced creams were only medium in quality; a medium-priced cream received the highest-quality rating.

The class next decided to make their findings available to the whole school. They prepared an exhibit and placed it in a showcase in the hall. In the case, they placed the different jars of cream, with brand names showing; the scientific analysis of each brand; the presence or absence of harmful ingredients; and the retail price of each cream together with the retail price of ingredients bought separately. The showcase aroused the interest of students. Through it, many of the girls became more intelligent consumers of cosmetics. Some of them changed to the brand rated best and least expensive.

The exhibit also came to the attention of the manufacturer of one of the face creams on display. The sample of his cream happened to have certain harmful ingredients. Shortly afterward, he wrote the principal of the school, demanding that the exhibit be removed from the showcase. He threatened that if this were not done he would sue the principal for damages. The principal refused to submit to this pressure. He backed the project and the teacher responsible for it. He replied that he believed the cold-cream study was of considerable value to students, and that he was strongly in favor of more of this realistic type of consumer education.

This illustration shows the type of consumer education which is needed in more and more of America's schools. Yet is consumer education included in the school program now? Will it be a part of the new curricula produced?

The Office of Education has recently concluded a survey which reveals that organized curriculum developments are under way in well over seven tenths of the cities of above 25,000 population. One half of the cities from 5,000 to 25,000 and one third of the cities 5,000 and below are engaged in curriculum revision. The Curriculum Laboratory of Teachers College has on file 39,046 courses of study written in American public schools during the past 14 years. Courses received are carefully judged and of the total number 5,843 have been considered outstanding. Inspection of these courses reveals some present practices in consumer education.

Public schools still retain subject matter as a basis for their organization. Problems of the consumer are seldom considered. There is little attempt to coordinate or integrate the work of one teacher with that of another in the same school. In the analysis of specific subjects it is found that most home-economics courses concern themselves with problems of cooking, sewing, and good taste. Much of the work is vocational with the expectation that the girl will marry and have a home of her own. As a general rule consumer education has been ignored in this field. Economics is taught in

some high schools as a senior subject covering one semester. In the typical course, production, exchange of goods, consumption of wealth, distribution, and economic problems are studied. Under consumption, students are taught about demand, supply, price, standard of living, saving, and spending. The whole emphasis is on theory, with little indication given that consumption is a vital, everyday problem of boys and girls. Some opportunity is given in mathematics to study about consumption. Children work on problems dealing with budgeting, cost of running a business, profit and loss, and seldom is there any indication that consumer problems are considered. Science courses are even further separated from practical consumer problems. Chemistry classes are given page assignments in textbooks and laboratory manuals. In physics classes, laws are suggested for drill and study. Even general science courses fail to consider consumer problems in any fundamental way.

Some curriculum programs are now being organized around such basic themes as increased control over nature, adaptation, democracy, interdependence, and standards of living. These themes tend to tie together all of the units taught in the school even though subject matter may be retained. In a few communities teachers of the social studies, science, home economics, language arts, and mathematics have developed units centering around the standard of living. Typical units are "a study of group action or coöperatives" and "wise buying of consumer goods." While this organization is far superior to a separate subject curriculum it often fails to focus the teaching on basic issues. The themes are so broad that they may fail to influence teaching practice. Consumer education although recognized does not generally become an important part of the curriculum.

Recently educators have begun to develop programs based on an analysis of areas of living. The philosophy behind this organization is that the needs and interests of children in a democratic society

should determine the school program. In one State, Virginia, these areas are protection and conservation of life; production of goods and services, and distribution of the returns of production; consumption of goods and services; communication and transportation of goods and people; recreation; expression of aesthetic impulses; expression of religious impulses; education; extension of freedom; integration of the individual; and exploration. Similar broad areas of human experience have been used in the curricula being developed in Mississippi, Georgia, Kansas, Arkansas, and Burbank, California. In every instance, consumption was found to be one of the basic areas which schools must consider.

Under the organization by broad areas, an integrating curriculum becomes highly desirable and possible. Tight subject-matter lines dissolve and a functional organization around areas takes place. For example, in Virginia, pupils in the seventh grade study "How do social agencies influence the consumer in his choice and use of goods?" Activities are suggested which require facts and information from the fields of science, home economics, the social sciences, language arts, and mathematics. References are suggested ranging from the United States Chamber of Commerce to the American Medical Association. *Extensive use of community resources is urged.*

Ideally, this type of curriculum organization should lead boys and girls into every phase of consumer education. In practice, this has not yet happened either because teachers have not been adequately educated concerning consumer problems or because the schools do not dare to disturb those who have a vested interest in maintaining our present system of distributing goods and services.

Investigations of courses of study show that it is increasingly important that the curricula of American schools include a study of the basic problems of consumership. Here is a list of some of these great problems which face our nation's consumers, young and old alike. For each problem, there is a brief description of present-day

conditions and of potentialities for the future. The facts cited are taken from the research reports of experts.¹ The figures are for 1929, a year of comparative prosperity, but the facts are probably as true now as they were then.

blems	Present Conditions	Future Potentialities
INCOMES	More than half of America's 30,000,000 families receive yearly incomes below \$2,000 a year each. This \$2,000 figure was set by the United States Department of Labor as the minimum necessary to provide a family with the housing, food, clothing, medical care, and other things needed for health and comfort in living	Experts estimate that if all the natural and human resources were used to capacity, the incomes of America's 15,000,000 poorest families might be raised to \$2,000 a year. One group of experts believes that our nation can provide an average income to a family of about \$4,300 a year
HOUSING	Half of America's families are inadequately housed. This half lives in dwellings that are ugly, overcrowded, poorly furnished, and without modern conveniences necessary for decent living. Millions live in neighborhoods that lack proper sunshine, fresh air, and playgrounds.	Experts think that America can have good housing for the families who need it most. Such housing, they say, can be provided only if the Federal Government together with the States and local governments embark on a large-scale housing program, subsidized by large grants of Government money.
FOOD	Three fourths of our families had to follow an emergency or subsistence diet, which was made up largely of the cheaper foods—oleomargarine, flour, potatoes, canned milk, and dried beans	All of America's families can enjoy the adequate diet or liberal diet if our farmers have 70 per cent more dairy cows, produce 35 per cent more beef cattle, 35 per cent more pigs and poultry,

¹ These groups of experts include the following

United States National Resources Board, Washington, D. C. See various reports
 United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., especially Bureau of Home Economics and Production Planning Division
 Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C. See especially *America's Capacity to Produce and America's Capacity to Consume*
 National Survey of Potential Product Capacity. See *The Chart of Plenty*, Viking Press, New York

Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. See *The Costs of Medical Care*, University of Chicago Press

<i>Problems</i>	<i>Present Conditions</i>	<i>Future Potentialities</i>
	Only one fourth were able to afford the adequate or liberal diet of more expensive foods—fresh butter, milk, eggs, vegetables, fruits, and lean meats	50 per cent more sheep, 100 per cent more vegetables, and 100 per cent more fruits Our families, of course, must have higher incomes to be able to buy the improved diets
4 HEALTH CARE	Surveys show that half the American people do not visit the doctor and one fifth do not visit the dentist, even once a year. The poorer half of our families are in need of much more health care than they now receive	According to the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, adequate health care can be provided for America's 15,000,000 poorest families only with considerable assistance from the Government America's middle-income families who face huge bills for health care can share the cost through such systems as group insurance
5. SOCIAL SECURITY	During good times and especially during hard times, millions of Americans face the insecurity brought by poverty, unemployment, accidents, illness, old age, and untimely death Private and public programs of social security give some protection, but much more is needed	The programs of Federal and State Governments represent steps toward greater protection for millions of American families. Yet further steps are necessary, for these same programs provide a bare subsistence standard of living for those unfortunate families who suffer from long periods of unemployment, or for those people who reach old age with only small private savings

All American consumers should be acquainted with the great potentialities of our nation's industry and agriculture, as estimated by experts² After a careful study of our resources, these experts have shown that the standard of living of our people can be raised year by year to constantly higher levels The possible improvement

² Under such titles as "Housing," "Food," "Clothing," "We Consumers," "Health," "Social Security," etc., *Building America* pictorial study units point out the present status and the future possibilities for progress in the major fields of American economic, social, and cultural life

of the welfare of our 130,000,000 people should challenge the thought and action of all consumers, and particularly of those in our nation's schools.

A comparison between these basic problems of consumership and typical public-school curricula indicates that there are great gaps existing. How can these be closed?

First, teachers must become thoroughly intelligent about social and economic issues. It is impossible to consider consumer education apart from our whole way of living. Many fine books and magazines written in nontechnical language are available. Teachers should form study groups in which they can discuss and debate modern problems.

Second, materials about consumer problems must be written for young people. Textbooks written from the point of view of the consumer are needed. Magazines such as *Building America* which recently devoted an issue to "We Consumers" should be placed in classrooms and libraries. The resources of the community should be utilized.

Third, teachers should be given help in planning units that center around consumer problems. A failure to recognize the scope of consumer problems is holding back more effective education. Consumer education can be taught by all teachers through the entire range of the public schools.

Fourth, teachers must take an active part in adult education. Parents must be informed about consumer problems. Pressure groups which for selfish gain would emasculate the consumership curriculum must be defeated. False or misleading advertising and propaganda wherever appearing must be exposed by the searchlight of student inquiry.

In conclusion, better consumer education can come through better curricula in America's schools. The development of these curricula will require the coöperative efforts of all teachers who are concerned with the problem of educating youth to become intelligent consumers.

CONSUMER EDUCATION IN RURAL AREAS

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Regardless of who we are or what we do, we usually want our money's worth. This seems to be characteristic of the human race. Time, thought, energy, and money are expended on a variety of things in this life if and when we feel we are getting value received. But so many of the perplexing problems of today seem to center around questions of knowing just what is "our money's worth." And right there is where consumer education enters the picture.

Any discussion of consumer education always raises at least three questions: (1) Who is the consumer? (2) What does he buy? (3) How much does he have with which to buy?

Whether we realize it or not, we are all consumers as well as producers. To be sure, there is a vast difference in the amounts of either goods or services produced and consumed by individuals or groups. Some one has aptly said that as producers we are primarily concerned with how much money we get; as consumers, with how much we get for our money. Our national history reveals, however, that while it is quite traditional with us to organize as producers, a comparable situation has not existed with reference to our activities either as distributors or consumers. Distribution and consumption therefore remain as two of the major problems of present-day living.

Consumers in rural areas represent a wide cross section of people in various walks of life. They include those living in small towns as well as in the open country; the well to do and the poor; the great and the near-great. Here we have not only the farmer and the rancher but the laborer, tradesman, artisan, professional and semiprofessional worker making a home in such an area.

This discussion will be confined largely to the buyer problems of farm people. The ideas outlined in these pages regarding consumer

education in rural areas may not be in harmony with the conception others have of the problems involved. However, it is hoped that difference of opinion may result in more fruitful, cooperative thinking. America, perhaps above all other nations, needs to learn the true meaning of "wise consumption." The fact that we have lived in a land of plenty as compared to other nations of the world has been responsible for the lack of systematic attention to a type of education which affects people in an exceedingly wide age span.

Consumer problems are many and varied. They develop primarily in connection with selection, purchase, utilization, and replacement of supplies, equipment, and apparel. Consumer problems in rural areas are not so fundamentally different from those common to urban centers except as the mode of living and occupational characteristics naturally give rise to new and distinct rural problems. Of course, there are many different angles but the fact that we are all consumers is much more significant than where that consumption takes place—city or country.

According to a recent issue of the *Consumers Guide*,¹ "in the purchase of goods and services, every consumer wants one, or a combination, of three things: (1) the best *quality* for a specified sum of money, (2) the greatest *quantity* for a specified sum of money, (3) a specified quantity and quality at a *fair price*." This is true alike of the laborer, the professional man, the person in business, and the farmer. It is also true of the housewife, the head of the household, the young buyer, and the experienced buyer.

Reducing buying to its most elementary terms, suppose we see what we have in the form of simple questions which we may well ask ourselves in connection with making purchases of consequence. Those which are fundamental appear to be about as follows:

1. Do I want or need the goods or service?
2. Is the type and kind appropriate?

¹ *Consumers Look at Eggs*, number one of consumer study outlines prepared by Consumers Council Division, Agricultural Adjustment Administration and Consumer's Project, Department of Labor, May 1937

3. Is the size or amount and the quality adequate?
4. Is the price right?
5. Can I afford it?

How much more intelligent our consumption would be if we, as buyers, either city or rural, would think through such steps as the above in connection with purchases of clothing, food, labor, automobiles, machinery, and the countless other items coming up for consideration in the course of a year. How much less would be the necessity of "education for wise consumption."

In years gone by, considerable criticism has been directed toward the efficiency of the rural buyer, and we must admit that he has not always been a discriminating buyer. In many instances this lack of due attention to such matters has been responsible for his being victimized more frequently than his urban cousin. However, those days are rapidly passing if they are not already well "on the way out." The rural buyer is rapidly becoming a more discriminating buyer and demanding more for his money because of a better knowledge of actual need, grades, brands, quality, and the like. Certain analyses² made of buyer motives show that advertisers find farmers to be "rationalistic" rather than "emotional" buyers while the reverse is true with urban people.

But let us compare the opportunities rural people have for obtaining a knowledge of merchandise as compared to the opportunities afforded the city dweller. The person living in a city is constantly being informed as a consumer. Walk down the street, look into the store windows, or pass through the aisles of a large department store. What do you see? Demonstrations and illustrations on every hand—one after the other calling attention to differences in values, quality, serviceability, durability, and the like. A certain amount of it must be classed as clever advertising, we must admit, but to the thinking person it at least raises questions and tends to make for a more informed purchasing public. Add to this the available printed

² Chapter VI, *Principles of Merchandising*, by M. T. Copeland (New York, A. W. Shaw and Company)

matter, radio and screen advertising, the assistance given by service agencies, and departments maintained expressly for the consumer in the city and you have a quick picture of the urban situation.

Now let us look at the rural areas—the small towns, the villages, and the farm communities. What do we find? Small stores, incomplete stocks, limited choice of goods, limited equipment, poor displays, and fewer specialists in various lines of merchandising—a decidedly less favorable situation from the standpoint of the consumer. Oftentimes when he knows exactly what he wants, the rural consumer *has to take a substitute because the article originally desired was not available at the time it was needed.* The radio and catalogue bring helpful information, but to hear about or see pictures of merchandise is one thing and to be able to see the merchandise for the purpose of making direct comparisons is something entirely different. Comparatively few rural dwellers can step on a streetcar or bus that will take them to the door of a large and complete store or to a well-planned display providing essential reliable facts on certain goods, designed to help buyers make wise selections. To be sure, good roads, improved transportation, and better communication facilities have brought the country and city much closer together than was the case a few years back, but from the standpoint of consumer education the city still has considerable advantage.

The farmer, in a broad sense, is a consumer of both producer and consumer goods. Although he produces food and textile materials, he also buys back foods and textiles for household consumption as well as certain raw materials and manufactured goods for use in his farming operations. We must remember, however, that the farmer buys a vast amount of consumer goods. Much is being done at the present time by numerous governmental and private agencies to assist him. Thousands of studies are being made annually to determine what a "money's worth" really is with respect to hundreds of types of commodities. Research is constantly under way to bring out facts for the benefit of the rural consumer. The effect is increasingly apparent.

Among the Federal agencies³ concerned especially with rural consumer problems we find, for example, in the United States Department of Agriculture, the Consumers Council, Division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; the Bureau of Agricultural Economics; the Bureau of Home Economics; the Food and Drug Administration; the Office of Information; and the Office of Motion Pictures. In the Department of Labor, there is the Consumer's Project. The Office of Education in the Department of the Interior is also rendering assistance along this line. Supplementing the consumer efforts of these agencies is the work of the Farm Credit Administration, the Federal Trade Commission, the Bureau of Standards of the Department of Commerce, and numerous others which could be added to this list. The national farm organizations, as well as other farmer groups, are also contributing to this undertaking.

It would be impossible to enumerate all of the distinct services now being rendered to the rural consumer. Certain results are significant, however. Established Government standards for market products are helping to keep those of inferior quality off the market, thereby improving the situation for rural producers. Better seed, better livestock, improved feeding standards, and more efficient use of fertilizers are some of the encouraging developments. Adding to this, we should mention the increased consumer interest in food values, fabrics, building materials, and farm equipment as well as in tags, labels, and brands.

The ever changing agricultural situation is responsible for systematic efforts to "peer into the future." Looking ahead is stimulating as well as enlightening. In reviewing *The Farm Outlook for 1938*⁴ one finds numerous statements and passages in this publication which become "food for thought" on consumer education in

³ *Sources of Information on Consumer Education and Organization*. United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Consumers Council Division Consumers Council Series, Publication No. 1

⁴ *The Farm Outlook for 1938*. United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Miscellaneous Publication No. 298, November 1937

rural areas. The following quotations therefrom serve to illustrate:

Farm Labor

Farm wage rates are expected to average higher in 1938 than in 1937.

Building Materials

Building costs to farmers in 1938 are likely to be somewhat higher than in 1937. . . Wage rates for building also have advanced during the past year and may advance more in 1938.

Farm Machinery

A rise in prices of farm machinery is expected in 1938, the increase being mainly due to increased cost of manufacture.

Fertilizer

Retail prices of fertilizer during the 1938 season will average higher than a year earlier and probably the highest since 1931. The percentage of rise will not be very great, however.

Farm Family Living

For the country as a whole, the 1938 farm net income is expected to be somewhat lower than it was in 1937. Probably somewhat less money will be realized from the sale of farm products while production expenses may show slight increases.

For farm families a decrease in income does not necessarily mean a corresponding decrease in the level of living. They may be able to get more of their living from the farm and may be able to spend their available cash more effectively.

From the foregoing statements, it appears that farm families should give special thought and study to consumer problems in the present year. The margin between production and consumption is the index to prosperity. Where income is comparatively low, as in the case of farmers in certain sections, even greater care must be

exercised in order really to buy wisely and actually get value received.

For years, it has been an accepted principle in this country that fitting individuals for useful employment is a legitimate and desirable objective. "Training present and prospective farmers for proficiency in farming" is the primary aim of vocational education in agriculture. "Training for effective participation in home and family life" characterizes the aim in vocational home economics. Similar objectives are noted in the work of other agencies interested in the welfare of rural people. The product of such effort should be a host of rural folks able to found and maintain more satisfying farm homes. How much more efficient these and other programs affecting rural folks can be if due emphasis is given to consumer education.

Consumer education in the final analysis is, to a great degree, a public-school responsibility which should permeate the entire school system. Consumer education especially for rural areas should be started early in the life of the pupil and continued into adulthood. Rural teachers must be trained to do their part in education for wise consumption.

What we need is a balance between production, distribution, and consumption. For economic and social well-being, the three must move forward together. Much has been done in the first two fields; much more can and should be done on the consumer side which lags at this time.

CONSUMER COÖPERATION IN AMERICA

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Because of the failure of our educational institutions in America to teach the facts about the consumers' cooperative movement to every one, it may be necessary first to answer the question "What is consumers' coöperation?" for some readers. No one should take offense at the suggestion of a possible lack of knowledge of its principles and history, even though it is the largest democratic movement in the world and enrolls some hundred million family members, since the channels of information have been so largely closed to the story of coöperation, which is the fourth alternative to capitalism, fascism, and communism.

WHAT IS CONSUMERS' COÖPERATION?

Consumers' coöperation is generally described as following the Rochdale principles, for it was at Rochdale, England, in 1844, after many years of trial and error, that the basic principles were finally adopted upon which the movement has been built. These were primarily four in number; namely, open membership; one person, one vote; limited interest on capital; and patronage dividends on purchases. The first two principles result in democratic control and the second two in purchases at cost. Three other secondary principles are likewise generally followed by the movement; education, neutrality, and cash trading.

In Britain, where the movement started, more than half the families, or 7,500,000 in all, are members of consumers' cooperatives. The British movement does a retail business of over a billion dollars, a half billion dollars of wholesale business; and manufactures two hundred million dollars worth of the products it distributes in over one hundred and fifty factories. It is today the largest business in

Great Britain. In addition to commodities, it has developed a banking division with over three billion turnover a year and an insurance division which collects annually over a hundred million dollars in premiums.

Inasmuch as this article is written to describe the growth of the movement in America, any extended description of the development in other countries is not possible. The greatest proof of its success is found in the Scandinavian countries, which are accepted as the heart of economic democracy in the world today. In Scandinavia the coöperatives largely control the general economy and the results are evident in the practical elimination of unemployment and poverty and the rapid abolition of tenancy. The Scandinavian countries are the world's demonstration ground of the results of the economic system of coöperation, and challenge comparison with the results of capitalism in America, fascism in Germany and Italy, and communism in Russia. The Scandinavian countries are proving that political liberty can be preserved and that economic equality can be achieved by democratic and peaceful means.

COOPERATIVE PIONEERS IN AMERICA

The first coöperative store started in Boston in 1845, or only one year after the opening of the original Rochdale store. The Boston store eventually failed as did hundreds of coöperative stores between 1845 and 1920. For seventy-five years America continued to pay tribute to the God of "rugged individualism." The economic ideal we held up before every child was to be a millionaire. We finally reached the place where a few Americans had battled their way up to the economic heights of million-dollar incomes, only to discover that other millions of Americans had been driven down into the depths of poverty. During these seventy-five years cooperation suffered in America from lack of general interest, together with its many failures due to lack of education of members, inexperi-

enced management, ineffective auditing, and violation of Rochdale coöperative principles.

There is now evidence, however, that we have reached the end of the frontier in America, both physically and mentally, and are increasingly ready to accept the extension of the democratic principles of liberty and equality into the building of an economic as well as a political democracy.

AMERICAN FARMERS LEARN TO COÖPERATE

It has long been said that farmers are individualists, but in America they have led the way in coöperation. This may be due to the fact that American farmers continued to be handicapped economically after the depression of 1920 more than did industrial and office workers. In general, the prices of the products which farmers sold averaged 14 per cent below the prices of the products which they had to buy from 1920 to 1929. On the other hand, by the fictitious lending of money to Europe after 1920, which really meant the giving to them of billions of dollars worth of food and goods since the loans have never been paid, we kept the wheels of industry turning and factory and office workers did not feel the pinch of economic necessity until after 1929.

While a number of wholesale coöperative purchasing groups had been organized in America prior to 1920, only three lasted through the after-the-war slump. These had been organized by farmers and, while small in size, they nevertheless survived. They are located at Superior, Wisconsin, Omaha, Nebraska, and Seattle, Washington. All three handled both farm and household supplies. Then, induced by the economic handicaps under which the farmers continued to suffer, what will be known historically as a great wave of coöperative organization developed among the farmers of America.

East of the Allegheny Mountains the farmers began organizing to purchase seed, fertilizer, and feed coöperatively. They have now

developed five large wholesale cooperative purchasing organizations in the Eastern States at Springfield, Massachusetts, Ithaca, New York, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Richmond, Virginia, and Raleigh, North Carolina. In all, these wholesales have a membership approaching a quarter of a million and do an annual business of about seventy-five million dollars. Other lines of products are now being added, such as lubricating oil, and the wholesale at Harrisburg also handles gasoline and other petroleum supplies.

When the cooperative movement got under way in the Central States after 1920 it developed principally in the petroleum field. Starting with a retail cooperative oil station at Cottonwood, Minnesota, in 1921, there have now been developed over two thousand retail cooperative outlets, which are organized in large wholesale groups at Columbus, Indianapolis, Lansing, Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Superior, Amarillo, Walla Walla, and Seattle. These cooperative groups do a total retail business of around fifty million dollars and save around five million dollars on their purchases. Other farm supplies are also handled in large quantities and some of these wholesales are also now adding departments for the handling of household supplies, such as electrical equipment and groceries.

The story of the development of the cooperative movement in America would not be complete without mention of the organization of cooperative fire, automobile, and life-insurance companies. A cooperative automobile insurance company with headquarters at Columbus, Ohio, is making rapid strides and is now the seventh largest mutual automobile insurance association in America although it is only eleven years old.

After developing from the retail to the wholesale stage in various regions in America, the wholesale groups then faced the question of national organization. A majority of the wholesales have accordingly become members of two national cooperative associations; namely, The Cooperative League of the United States of America,

New York City, which is the national publicity and educational organization of the consumers' coöperative movement in America, and National Coöperatives, Inc., Chicago, which is the national business organization of the movement.

One of the principal problems in the evolution of the movement in America has been that of interpretation. While the early wholesale groups at Superior and Omaha have had a clear interpretation of the fact that in purchasing coöperatively they were acting as consumers, whether their purchases were farm or home supplies, the fact that other wholesales have thus far more largely confined their activities to the purchasing of farm supplies for their members has resulted in the interpretation of their activities by some as those of producers rather than consumers. There is a vital psychological and sociological difference in these two interpretations. Organizations of producers are basically of two forms—farm coöperatives and labor unions—which are for the purpose of marketing products or services. When either farmers or workers organize to purchase coöperatively, however, they are acting as consumers, no matter what their vocations or what kinds of goods they purchase. It is not possible to elaborate on this point of the interpretation of the movement in this paper although it is a vital one. Suffice it to say, however, that there is a rapidly growing realization among farmers of the significance of organizing as consumers into coöperatives to purchase all of their products, whether farm or home supplies, and joining with urban factory and office workers in purchasing coöperatively such products as both consume.

OFFICE WORKERS LEARN COÖPERATION

The story of the development of the consumers' cooperative movement in America then moved on from the farm field into the urban field among office workers. History may count it strange that, in America, office workers who are sometimes called "white-collars"

took up with the consumers' coöperative movement after the 1929 depression more rapidly than did factory workers. We will have to leave it to history to assign the reasons for this evolution in America, since in older countries the movement first principally enlisted the interest of factory employees. However, in America, the movement did not get a real start in the cities until office workers began to be numbered as a vocational group by the millions, while the office occupational group was comparatively small in number in the earlier periods of the history of the movement in European countries.

The five years from 1929 to 1934 seemed to cause little economic group action among urban workers in America. They had apparently been "*depression-shocked*" and were inclined to turn to political action rather than economic organization, and to immediate relief measures rather than long-range objectives. By 1934, however, urban residents had become somewhat disillusioned over political action and began turning toward coöperative organization of themselves as consumers.

At this point a number of the large wholesale farm coöperative groups joined together with the few scattering retail urban groups in a more intense national publicity, educational, and organizational campaign to encourage the interest of city workers in organizing themselves into consumers' coöperatives. Leaders of the three great social organizations in which America has more largely applied the principles of democracy, namely, the religious, educational, and political, were enlisted to assist in the extension of democratic principles into the field of economic organization. Brotherhood in religion and democracy in politics were found to have a counterpart in the economic field under the name of coöperation. Freedom in the various educational fields was found to require freedom in economics to prevent all forms of freedom being swallowed up in dictatorship. Outstanding in the religious field was the six-month tour of Kagawa of Japan, in the spring of 1936, who advocated the

coöperative movement as the way to peace and plenty before over three quarters of a million listeners. This has been followed by the active promotion of the movement by both Protestant and Catholic leaders. Notable American journalists began to write articles and books on consumer coöperation, among them being such nationally known writers as Marquis W. Childs, Horace M. Kallen, Bertram B. Fowler, Upton Sinclair, Frederick C. Howe, Colston E. Warne, Paul H. Douglas, and others, in addition to those directly engaged in the coöperative movement. Wisconsin passed a law requiring the teaching of the subject of consumer coöperation in all the public schools, which has been followed by legislation in North Dakota and Minnesota. The interest of educators in the movement has been aroused. In the political field the outstanding event was the sending of a special commission to Europe by President Roosevelt to study and report upon the movement.

Publicity resulted in a wave of interest which eventually began to crystallize into action. The evolution of coöperatives in the cities has taken three steps: the initial beginning was the organization of small discussion groups following the pattern of the study circles of Sweden and Nova Scotia; these were followed by the organization of buying clubs which, in time, evolved into cooperative stores and oil stations. Some of the city groups have been taken into membership by the wholesales originally organized by farmers, while the urban coöperatives in the States surrounding New York City and Chicago have joined together and organized wholesales in these two cities which largely serve urban coöperative grocery stores. Although the number of such stores is small in comparison with the private retail stores, coöperators believe that they are the embryo of the new coöperative economic society that is developing.

LABOR TURNS TO COOPERATIVES

Labor in America is in the throes of organizing as producers and accordingly labor leadership has had little time to direct the inter-

est of workers to the necessity of organizing as consumers. However, there are hopeful signs appearing. Strong resolutions favoring the organization of consumers' coöperatives have been passed by the last two national conventions of the American Federation of Labor. The Steel Workers' Organizing Committee of the C.I.O. likewise passed a favorable cooperative resolution at its first convention. The leaders of the C.I.O. Automobile Workers' Union are advocating the organization of cooperatives. The subject of cooperatives is being included in the educational programs of labor unions and in general workers' education programs.

There is also the beginning of the organization of retail consumers' cooperative associations under the leadership of members of organized labor in a few cities such as Racine, Wisconsin, and Akron, Ohio. Factory workers are proving that they can successfully organize themselves as consumers into coöperatives and reduce the prices of the food and goods they purchase.

ECONOMIC STABILITY OF COÖPERATIVES

While the private-profit economic system in America is going through its regular periods of "boom and bust," there is now a sector of American business which does about one per cent of the retail volume of purchasing or about half a billion dollars, which is proving that it is possible to build a stable economy. Cooperative purchasing has resulted in a stabilized and steadily increasing volume. This is due to three major factors in the cooperative method of doing business: first, coöperatives purchase and produce for a known demand, second, cooperatives distribute for cash and do not build up volumes on mushroom credit; third, coöperatives distribute at cost, which increases the purchasing power of their members. This is done by the device of the patronage dividend which distributes the savings, or profits, to the members in proportion to their purchases, after setting aside ample reserves for depreciation, expansion, and education. Coöperative purchasing has also stabilized employ-

ment. There have been practically no layoffs of employees during the present recession in business. It might also be added that coöperatives do not employ spies in dealing with their employees. Most naturally, since the employees are also members of the cooperatives, the relationship is much more friendly than in private business. Finally, coöperative purchasing has also stabilized the investment of the member-owners. There have been almost no failures in retail coöperatives during the past ten years, while the mortality among private retailers averages over twenty per cent a year during prosperous or depression years.

As rapidly as the coöperative movement grows in America, so will the whole of the economic system become stabilized in production, employment, and investment.

THE FUTURE OF COOPERATION

Fortunately for us, the Scandinavian countries, particularly Sweden and Finland, have demonstrated the possible results of the development of the coöperative movement to a still greater degree than we have here in America. They have set a clear pattern for us to follow.

In America we have three economic scourges which are rampant today: unemployment, poverty, and tenancy. Some ten millions are unemployed; other millions live in dire poverty; about half of our families are tenants. We, the people of America, have been rapidly losing our jobs, our incomes, and ownership of property. The Brookings Institution has scientifically diagnosed our economic disease as being the piling up of excess profits or savings in the hands of the few. They have also prescribed the remedies as increased taxes, higher wages, and lower prices.

Finland and Sweden have proved that the diseases of unemployment, poverty, and tenancy can be abolished by applying these remedies of increased taxation, higher wages, and lower prices. They

have also shown how to apply the remedies. By adopting social insurances of various types—unemployment, sickness, and old age—which are paid for out of taxes on those with larger incomes, together with the organization of farm marketing coöperatives and labor unions, the people of those countries have raised the wages of the lower income groups. By organizing public utilities and consumers' coöperatives, they have likewise lowered prices. The result has been that they have widely distributed purchasing power, which, in turn, has resulted in an increased effective demand and greater production. The final result has been the elimination of unemployment and poverty and the rapid reduction in tenancy. These great economic diseases are on the way to becoming relics of a past profiteering age in those countries. America is able to profit by their example.

EDUCATION FOR COÖPERATION

Every child should be taught the principles and practice of coöperation in the schools of America. Economic cooperation is in its very essence a part of democracy. We have an example in France where the state has organized a Central Office for Coöperation in the Schools. The children are not only taught the principles of coöperation but are organized into cooperatives in the schools. We also have the beginnings of the teaching of coöperation in the schools of America in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota, with scattering individual illustrations elsewhere. Every college and university in America should give a course in consumer economics. A few have already been introduced. The subject of cooperation should be included in all the various types of adult-education programs which are now being conducted in America, whether forums, radio, or classes.

The consumers' cooperative movement itself is conducting extensive educational programs among its members and employees, particularly in the form of discussion-circles for members and training

institutes for employees. The coöperative movement believes in and practises the democratic principle of "educate and organize." It does not believe in compulsion but in voluntary action as an outgrowth of education.

THE PURPOSE OF AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM

A scientific analysis would conclude that the purpose of an economic system is to produce plenty, to distribute plenty to all, and to do so with the least effort. On these three counts the private-profit system stands indicted today. It fails to produce plenty, it fails to distribute equitably to all, it is wasteful in its operation. The consumers' coöperative movement is growing in America today, and is likely to grow all the more rapidly because it fulfills all three functions of a scientific economic system as the competitive capitalistic system does not—the coöperative economic system is increasingly proving that it is able to produce plenty, to distribute that plenty equitably to all, and to reduce effort in production and distribution to a minimum.

Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace prophesies that "A cooperative economic society will be the living stream of thought for the twentieth century as a political democratic society was the living stream of thought for the eighteenth century." Coöperators believe that this is a true prophecy and are earnestly endeavoring to educate and organize all others in America to practise economic coöperation.

RECENT STUDIES OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS OF MICHIGAN

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SCOPE AND CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT STUDIES

The author, with the aid of certain of his students, investigated the teaching of sociology in the Michigan public high schools in the spring of 1931 and again in the spring of 1936.

The primary objectives of the two separate studies were: first, to find out to what extent sociology was being taught either as a separate subject or in connection with related social studies; second, to learn something of the character of the sociology courses offered; third, to ascertain the views of responsible school authorities relative to the value and the objectives of sociology in the high schools where it was being taught as an independent subject; and, fourth, to discover something of the status and qualifications of the instructors of sociology in these high schools.

The questionnaire method, supplemented by personal interviews with sociology teachers, was the principal one used. In 1931 questionnaires were mailed to the 186 larger high schools of the State having a student enrollment of 200 or more. Replies were received from 130 schools or 70 per cent. In 1936, after corrections in the mailing list, 180 questionnaires were mailed to about the same group of large schools. Replies were received from 126 schools, or almost exactly the same percentage as in the earlier study. In addition this year 180 of the smaller high schools with an enrollment of from 70 to 200 students were studied by questionnaires. Replies were received from 106 smaller schools, or about 59 per cent. Data were thus obtained from a large sampling of the larger high schools both in 1931 and in 1936, and in addition from an equally large sample of smaller high schools in the latter year.

In this article the author aims chiefly to set forth the situation with respect to the teaching of sociology as an independent subject in the Michigan public high schools as revealed in the 1936 survey. Comparison with the data from the earlier study will be made, however, with regard to the extent of sociology offerings.

EXTENT OF SOCIOLOGY OFFERINGS

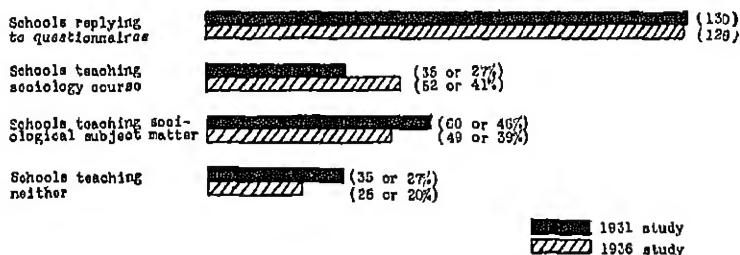
Of the 130 schools replying in 1931, 35 of them, or 27 per cent, offered a course in sociology. On the other hand, 60 schools, or 46 per cent, stated that they were teaching sociological subject matter only in connection with other social studies. The remaining 35 schools, or 27 per cent, reported neither sociology nor sociological subject matter. The 1936 study shows considerable change among the large schools. According to replies for that year 52 schools, or 41 per cent of those reporting, were offering sociology as a separate subject; while 49 schools, or 39 per cent, stated that they taught sociological subject matter only in conjunction with other social studies, primarily in those labeled "community civics" or "economics." The remaining 25 schools, or 20 per cent, indicated that they were not teaching sociology as such in any manner. Figure I clearly shows the comparative situation in the large schools as it was revealed in the studies of 1931 and 1936. An increase of slightly over 14 per cent in the large schools offering sociology as a separate subject is indicated for the five-year period, 1932-1936 inclusive.

Quite in accord with this marked tendency for wider recognition of sociology in the curricula of the larger systems is a similar trend in the smaller schools revealed by the 1936 study. The 106 questionnaires returned from these schools showed that a course in sociology was reported by 32 schools, or 30 per cent; while 52 schools, or about 49 per cent, indicated that they taught the subject matter of sociology in related courses only. The remaining 22 schools, or 21 per cent, reported neither sociology nor sociological subject matter. It is evident from the comparison shown in figure II that sociology

as a separate school subject had wider acceptance in the large school systems in 1936 than it did in the smaller ones. Furthermore, if the time of the introduction of the course is noted, it becomes clear that sociology also received earlier recognition in the large schools.

FIGURE I

Number of large schools replying to questionnaires; number and percentage teaching sociology, teaching sociological subject matter, and teaching neither, 1931 and 1936 studies



As shown in table I, no courses were reported by the smaller schools as having been introduced prior to 1927, while 11 courses, or 21 per cent of those reported by the large schools, had their beginnings before that year. Table I further shows that 18 large schools, or only about 35 per cent of those reporting sociology, introduced their courses in the five years following 1931, while 19 smaller schools, or about 59 per cent of those reporting a course, introduced it during this recent period. While it seems evident from these data that the smaller high schools of Michigan were later in their recognition of sociology, it appears equally clear that these schools are at the present time showing the same marked tendency toward increased recognition of it as a distinct social study as are the larger systems.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIOLOGY COURSES OFFERED

As already indicated, the remainder of this discussion will be based almost exclusively upon the data relative to the 84 sociology

FIGURE II

Number of large schools and number of small schools replying to questionnaires; number and percentage teaching sociology, teaching sociological subject matter, and teaching neither, 1936

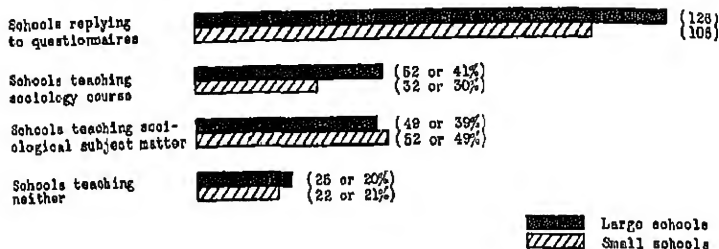


TABLE I

Number of courses introduced per year for period 1920-1936, as reported by the large schools and the small schools, 1936

Year	Number of Schools			Year	Number of Schools		
	Large	Small	Total		Large	Small	Total
1920	1	0	1	1929	0	0	0
1921	2	0	2	1930	3	1	4
1922	0	0	0	1931	3	1	4
1923	3	0	3	1932	0	4	4
1924	0	0	0	1933	4	2	6
1925	1	0	1	1934	5	2	7
1926	4	0	4	1935	5	5	10
1927	6	2	8	1936	4	6	10
1928	2	2	4				
Schools not reporting year					9	7	16

courses reported by the large and small schools in the 1936 study

These courses are predominantly one semester in length, only 7 out of the 84 being reported as two-semester courses. Although usually elective in character, the courses offered are ordinarily restricted either to seniors or to juniors and seniors. Only 6 courses were reported as required and only 4 as open at all to students below the

junior level. Average annual enrollment per school naturally varied widely as did average enrollment per class. Student interest in the subject was reported "high" in 66 per cent of the large schools and in 75 per cent of the smaller ones; everywhere else "medium," being in no instance rated as "low." A rather marked tendency for what might be called "problem courses" was evidenced, with 56 per cent of the large schools and 59.5 per cent of the smaller ones reporting that their courses emphasized problems. Some 36.5 per cent of the large schools and 25 per cent of the small schools stressed both theory and problems, while only 2 per cent of the former and 12 per cent of the latter were said to emphasize theory alone in their courses. The remaining schools in each class did not report on the item. It was further evident from comments and course outlines received that in a number of the courses a real endeavor was being made to guide the students into an objective study or observation of institutions and social conditions in their local community with attention upon the normal relationships of life existing there as well as upon the definitely pathological situations.

Although a majority of the schools reported the text in use as "suitable," it is evident from the comments on several replies that the text situation is far from entirely satisfactory to many. In some of the courses either a mimeographed study outline is employed or a combination of several texts is used instead of any particular one. Where single texts were reported to be in use the nine leading the list are shown in table II, in the order of the frequency of schools reporting their use in 1931 and 1936.

Estimates of the suitability of different texts as well as that of the same text by different instructors varied widely, of course. While some comments upon the text in use were in such satisfactory terms as "good," "very good," or "excellent," many more indicated the varied criticisms of different texts in common use as were embodied in such expressions as "too much emphasis on theory," "out of date," "too meager in details," "too elementary," "sociological principles

TABLE II

Nine leading textbooks in the order of the number of schools reporting their use, 1936 study

<i>Author, Title, Publisher</i>	<i>Number of Schools</i>		
	<i>Large</i>	<i>Small</i>	<i>Total</i>
Gavian, Gray, and Groves, <i>Our Changing Social Order</i> (Heath, 1934)	14	9	23
Ellwood, <i>Modern Social Problems</i> (American Book, 1924)	9	2	11
Finney, <i>Elementary Sociology</i> (3d ed., rev., Sanborn, 1935)	5	3	8
Ross, <i>Civic Sociology</i> (World Book, 1925)	4	3	7
Williamson, <i>Introduction to Sociology</i> (Heath, 1926)	3	2	5
Beach, <i>Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems</i> (Houghton, 1925)	4	1	5
Elliott, <i>Our Dynamic Society</i> (Harper, 1935)	2	1	3
Wallis and Wallis, <i>Our Social World</i> (McGraw-Hill, 1933)	2	1	3
Towne, <i>Social Problems</i> (Macmillan, 1924)	2	0	2
Other texts, no single text or not reporting	—	—	25

not clearly or concisely stated," "vocabulary too difficult," and "uninteresting in technique of presentation."

PLACE OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE HIGH SCHOOL

In many respects the questions raised here were among the most enlightening of the entire study. They involved for one thing a sort of an inventory of the opinions or attitudes of high-school superintendents, principals, and teachers toward sociology as a high-school subject. Furthermore, certain statements regarding objectives and functions of high-school sociology provide some indication of the spirit and content of the courses taught, and also indicate some confusion in the minds of school authorities as to the real nature of sociology itself.

Numerous thoughtful replies were received to the question, "What function or objective is there for high-school sociology?" The following representative answers are worth noting here for the possible light they may throw on the inner character of the courses themselves.

To give the individual some understanding of the social order; to teach the child that living is an art and must be understood and worked at in order to live a good life in harmony with others

Our modern youth are not at all aware of the importance of right or wrong in the moral field.

To teach boys and girls to make proper adjustments to life

To teach an understanding of our social order, to engender a sense of personal responsibility, and to create a living and expanding philosophy of life.

To give new light on things young people worry about.

These and other similar replies reveal the marked emphasis on the problems of personality adjustment that characterizes some of the courses. Some of them also seem to evidence a confusion of the functions of sociology as a social science with those of ethics and religion as interpreters of ethical values. These statements above all reflect a rather strong recognition by educators of the guidance function of sociology in the secondary school.

A problem emphasis is also clearly perceptible in the following representative statements. Here, social adjustment rather than personality adjustment becomes the focus of attention.

To awaken the interest of the high-school students in the problems of the individual, the family, and the community

To offer a basis for understanding institutions; to stimulate interest in social progress in order that graduates may intelligently participate in activities leading to social improvement

To acquaint students with social problems, to create an attitude and an interest in social problems, and to set up a few tentative techniques for attacking social problems

To develop the right attitudes toward social conditions.

To acquaint the students with sociological problems such as crime, delinquency, poverty, etc.; something must be done about them.

Here we seem to have coming to the fore, directly or by implication, what Cooley, Angell, and Carr have called "social technology." Sociology considered in this manner concerns itself largely with the nature of social problems, and with certain attitudes and techniques for adjusting them. The matter of social awareness of the problem and of the proper attitude toward it looms large here as is indicated by some of the quotations.

The more purely objective attitude toward the subject matter of sociology is revealed in such replies as the following:

To show students what human traits are, the significance of these to society as a whole, and especially the significance of these to the individual.

To make clear the nature of social problems which students should be informed about when they take their place in society.

To enable the student to understand his increasingly complex environment, and to understand the social trends and social news about him

In this school the great majority of students do not enter college to contact the subject; and they should meet some of the theories regarding social change, social process, and social organization.

In these statements we have a clearer emphasis on understanding, particularly understanding of social conditions and events, as the primary function of sociology. Here the subject seems to take on more nearly the accepted character of a science than in any of the preceding conceptions.

A few replies tend to indicate confusion about the objectives of the sociology courses offered.

I am not sure there is a separate objective distinct from that of economics on the high-school level

To understand the objectives of modern social life

¹ *Introductory Sociology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), pp. 481-482

We have made sociology a course attempting to develop in pupils an appreciation for worthy leisure-time activities

The study of American democracy, its social, economic, and political issues, and the laying of the foundations of cultural growth.

These and similar statements seem to indicate a reluctance on the part of certain educators to recognize sociology at all as having distinctive functions on the high-school level; or they evidence confusion as to what these functions are. Some would make sociology a handmaid in the solution of some particular human problem and in this manner distort its broader outlook and objectives. And still others, such as the last one quoted, tend to confuse the subject matter and functions of sociology with those of economics and political science.

Little power of insight seems needed to realize that sociology as it is being taught in the public high schools of Michigan is motivated by a variety of more or less clearly conceived objectives. A preponderance of the objectives stated clearly reflects a lively current awareness by these educators of the pressing personal and group problems of modern life. They appear overwhelmingly to suggest a need, felt by these school administrators and teachers, for bringing youth more consciously into contact with everyday social conditions, "to connect the students with life," as one superintendent put it. Many of these objectives are gauged directly in terms of action and results, while others clearly indicate more faith in the old adage that "knowledge will set you free." One might say with a good deal of truth perhaps that a variety of experiments are going on in the sociology classes of the high schools of Michigan which seek to guide youth to a clearer understanding of, and a better adjustment to, the personal and social demands of living today. Their variety arises in part from the diversity of objectives sought. Just which of these objectives are most suitable and which of them properly come within the scope of sociology at the high-school level will perhaps be partially suggested by the sort of pragmatic test now going on.

EXPANSION AND IMPROVEMENT OF HIGH-SCHOOL SOCIOLOGY

To the question, "Is there need for the expansion of high-school sociology?" 64 schools, or over 85 per cent of those answering, replied in the affirmative. The 11, or 15 per cent, who answered the question negatively indicated for the most part that their answers referred only to their local situation. To the question, "Why is there need for expansion, if any?" a variety of replies was received. Many of these stated in substance that expansion was needed in order to realize more fully the objectives already discussed. A number of the other answers typified by the following served to delineate a basic educational problem in American society.

Only comparatively few study sociology in college. A much larger proportion of students can be reached in high-school courses.

Noncollege students need to understand the force of social relations in personality formation.

We need a course for the tenth grade, for many of our students drop out before the senior year.

The problem implied here is essentially this: A way must be found to prepare for life as best we can both those people who drop out of high school to seek employment, and those who terminate their formal education on completion of high school, and therefore almost at once confront the complex problems of economic self-support, family life, and democratic citizenship. It appears likely that one strong motive for projecting the subject of sociology down into the high school arises in relation to this educational problem.

Answers to the question "What do you think mainly retards the expansion of high-school sociology?" provide some suggestions as to the obstacles encountered by school administrators in the development of the subject. Replies similar to the following typify the more outstanding factors suggested.

The fact that sociology is new and in somewhat of an experimental state; it is a deviation from the time-honored subjects

A lack of qualified teachers of the subject; lack of appreciation of the subject by school executives; and the opposition of theoretical sociologists in colleges

School curriculum too crowded and the lack of recognition by colleges and universities; for example, the exclusion of the course by the University of Michigan in its new social sequences for entrance requirement.^a

Lack of satisfactory texts and reference material.

Misunderstanding as to the nature and purpose of the subject.

It is interesting to compare the obstacles suggested by these representative statements with the six factors mentioned by Tryon as tending to retard the expansion of sociology in the high school.^b

1. Recent appearance of sociology as a discipline in the higher institutions of learning
2. The lack of adequately prepared sociology teachers
3. The opinion that sociology is too difficult for high-school students
4. The quite general confusion on the part of school administrators as to the true nature of the subject
5. The overcrowded condition of the high-school curriculum
6. The conflicts between sociology and community civics, economics, political science, citizenship, or other problem courses

It is significant to note that the dearth of qualified teachers, the newness and attending misconceptions of sociology, and conflicts occasioned by an already overcrowded curriculum are factors that are suggested in both instances.

When the responsible administrators of the schools teaching sociology were asked "Is the sociology course as taught worth while and effective?" 77 replies, or more than 96 per cent of those received, indicated that it was. This strong approval of the subject was suggested by a corresponding majority in the study of 1931. This double source of evidence appears to be quite convincing testimony

^a This situation has recently been altered so that now one-half unit of sociology is accepted in the social-studies sequence if it is presented from a school meeting certain specified requirements with respect to the course

^b Rolla M. Tryon, *The Social Sciences as School Subjects* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), pp. 385-386

of the favored position already attained by sociology in those schools reporting the subject.

Suggestions for improvement in the courses taught, however, included: "better prepared teachers," "greater emphasis on problems," "a modern text on the high-school level," and "allow it to be counted for college entrance."

THE TEACHER OF HIGH-SCHOOL SOCIOLOGY IN MICHIGAN

Sociology in Michigan high schools appears to be well "manned." In the 82 schools reporting information upon the point, 58 of the teachers, or 71 per cent, were men. This predominance of men seemed to prevail throughout the State with the exception of the Detroit area where mature women seemed to be holding their own in the field. The median age for all teachers reported was about 30 years, but with a rather equal scattering of cases in the 21-25, 26-30, 31-35, and 36-40 age groupings. About 60 per cent were married, this status being somewhat more pronounced in the smaller schools. No doubt an important selective factor conditioning the foregoing data is that the superintendent himself was the teacher of sociology in more than 50 per cent of the smaller schools reporting a course.

The average number of years teaching experience reported was about 9 years with an approximately equal scattering of cases in the 1-5, 6-10, and 11-15 year groupings. With the exception of 3, all the teachers held A.B. or B.S. degrees, and about 30 per cent of them held A.M. degrees. Academic preparation in sociology varied widely. Some 20 schools did not report on the point. In the schools reporting, 14 teachers had taken a year or less of college work in sociology, 19 from one to two years' work, and the remaining 31 teachers reported more than two years' work. There are reasons to suspect, however, that the data probably err in the direction of reporting too many teachers as having two years or more work in college sociology. However, a number had definitely majored in the subject and a few had taken masters' degrees in the field.

The author's tentative judgment, arrived at from these studies and supported by several personal interviews, is that the teachers of sociology in this State are for the most part a competent and alert group. On the whole, it appears that they are above the average in social maturity, teaching experience, and possibly academic preparation. But the supply of such teachers does not seem to be abundant, for "better qualified teachers" was in effect a plea arising from several sources in the studies. In part no doubt it had reference to general experience, cultural background, and social balance and maturity, all of which serve well in this type of subject. On the other hand, specialized education in sociology itself and training in the techniques of presenting material in the field at the high-school level were clearly expressed needs. This latter situation appears to provide, to say the least, a mild challenge to the colleges and universities which have to do with the preparation of social-science teachers; more especially to those teachers' colleges which as yet show no signs of being aware of this situation and which therefore make no effort in their advisory function nor make provision in their practice-teaching facilities to equip even an interested portion of their social-science majors to meet effectively this demand if called upon to do so. Many of the smaller schools particularly, with their limited personnel, confront the difficulties arising here, for not infrequently the superintendent finds that his regular social-science teacher is not equipped to handle the subject matter of sociology. Therefore, confronted with the only alternative of not having a course, he elects in many instances to teach the subject himself. Of course, superintendents in smaller schools will be found teaching sociology for other reasons, among them a special interest in the subject.

CONCLUSION

Just what the future of sociology upon the high-school level will be in general, of course, remains to be seen. It seems indisputable,

however, that the subject matter and point of view of sociology are likely to play an increasingly large part in the social-studies program of the secondary school in the immediate future, either offered as a distinct unit or presented definitely in conjunction with the material of closely related social studies. Which of these methods of presentation should prevail will no doubt be an important mooted question for some time to come. But, as far as Michigan is concerned, these studies point to the prospects of a continued increase of its acceptance as an independent subject. Many of the obstacles which have retarded its development as such are either already on the way to disappearing or do not seem at all unsurmountable in the near future. To what extent these studies reflect the situation in other States can only be conjectured.

SOME SOURCES OF INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

In "Education for Wise Consumption"

I. DAVID SATLOW

ORGANIZATIONS THROUGH WHICH MATERIALS ARE AVAILABLE

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Room 24, State House, Boston, Massachusetts.

Report of the Committee on Consumer Credit, February 17, 1936. An 86 page analysis of the abuses in installment sales and suggestions for remedying them. A number of tables at the end convert various carrying charges on installment sales to per cent equivalents for comparison with rates quoted by sellers. The entire booklet which is rich in teaching material sells for a nominal sum and its language is within the range of comprehension of secondary-school students.

Consumers' Counsel, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Washington, D. C.

Issues biweekly a *Consumers' Guide*, which is mailed free to any one requesting placement on the mailing list. Through this periodical, the division carries on an educational program training the citizen in knowing what to look for and presents the relative merits of different types of materials used in the making of consumer goods and specifications. The *Guide* also features announcements concerning current publications of value to consumers. This publication should prove particularly helpful to mail order buyers, who order by catalogue descriptions. This governmental division published *Sources of Information on Consumer Education and Organization*, a 33-page booklet listing with brief descriptions Federal as well as nongovernmental, nonprofit agencies rendering consumer services. Suggestions for consumer study courses are also included in this pamphlet.

Consumers' Research, Inc., Washington, New Jersey. A membership corporation organized in 1929 under the laws of the State of New York to provide unbiased information and counsel on goods bought by the ultimate consumer. It issues each September an *Annual Cumulative Bulletin*, which contains a condensed summary of most of the organization's previous researches on goods and services. Goods are listed by brand name as recommended, intermediate, and not recommended. Designations of A, B, C refer to quality range, and designations of 1, 2, 3 refer to price range. A rating of A1 represents the best quality and money value for the consumer, one of C3 represents the poorest quality and money value. In addition to this *Bulletin*, members receive during the year a *Monthly Bulletin* reporting the results of current researches.

The organization prepared a *Consumers' Test Manual*, a 38-page pamphlet, which comprises a number of simple tests of common household articles. This should prove of value to students of chemistry, physics, general science, and

domestic science. Its cost is fifty cents. Since July 1936, Consumers' Research has been issuing *Consumers' Digest*, a popular readable magazine whose articles are based on data in its files. This sells for 25c a copy or \$3.00 a year. Special rates are offered on lots of ten or more for class and discussion groups. A Teachers' Manual and Study Guide is prepared for each issue and furnished with group orders.

Consumers' Union of the United States, Inc., 22 East 17th Street, New York City. A membership corporation, similar in purpose to Consumers' Research, Inc., which publishes an *Annual Handbook of Buying* and *Consumers' Union Reports*, a monthly magazine. In their listings, goods are rated in terms of the greatest value returns for money expended, evaluating them as best buys, also acceptable, and not acceptable. The magazine is available at newsstands.

Wherever possible, Consumers' Union describes labor conditions under which the articles were prepared.

In addition to reports on research and experimentation carried on in its laboratories, Consumers' Union has been devoting space in its magazine to several series of articles on specific consumer problems. Expert opinion and scientific evidence are included in the educational campaigns represented in the several series. The current numbers are featuring a series on life insurance.

The Cooperative League, 167 West 12th Street, New York City. Publishes a monthly, *Consumers' Cooperation*. Subscription is \$1.00 a year. The aim of this periodical is to spread the knowledge of the consumers' cooperative movement, "whereby the people, in voluntary association, purchase and produce for their own use the things they need."

It acts as a distributing center for significant publications and, from time to time, various pamphlets, ranging in price from five to twenty-five cents, have been issued by this national organization. Some of the titles follow: *What is Consumer Cooperation?*, *Swedish Consumers in Cooperation*, *A Primer of Bookkeeping for Cooperatives*, *Sweden—Land of Economic Democracy*, *Cooperative Medicine*, *Campus Cooperatives*, *What Is a Cooperative Store?*, *Guide for Discussion Circles*, *Cooperation The Way Out*, *A Short Introduction to Consumers Cooperation*, *The Discovery of the Consumer*, *Fundamentals of Consumer Cooperation*, *Cooperation The Dominant Economic Idea of the Future*.

Credit Union National Association, Raiffeisen House, Madison, Wisconsin, will furnish free of charge information on the formation of credit unions.

It publishes *The Bridge*, a monthly devoted to the furtherance of the cause of credit unions, subscription price is fifty cents a year.

Farm Credit Administration, 1300 E Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. A cooperative service operated on a business basis.

Its primary purpose is to help farmers get out of debt. As part of the program

directed toward the realization of this goal, the Administration issues interesting circulars and bulletins. Some of the literature should suggest fields of activity for urban consumers. At all events, the first-hand information on farm mortgage credit, Federal intermediate credit banks, cooperatives, and Federal credit unions furnished by this organization should prove of immense value to students and teachers of social studies and business.

Some of the titles of pamphlets issued are, *Agricultural Financing through the Farm Credit Administration* (Circular 5), *Improving Our Rural Credit System* (Circular A-10), *The Farmer's Stake in Cooperative Credit* (Circular A-7), *Co-operative Farm Mortgage Credit, 1916-1936* (Circular A-8), *Selecting and Financing a Farm* (Circular 14), *Cooperative Purchasing of Farm Supplies* (Bulletin 1), *The Federal Intermediate Credit Banks* (Circular 7), *Loans to Farmers' Cooperatives* (Circular 6), *Membership Relations of Cooperatives' Associations* (Bulletin 9), *Federal Credit Unions* (Circular 10), *Consumers Cooperate for Credit* (Circular A-12), *ABC's of Credit for the Farm Family* (Circular 15), *"Preventive Medicine" for Cooperatives* (Circular A-3).

Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Washington, D. C., publishes monthly *The Federal Home Loan Bank Review*. This magazine is the Board's medium of communication with member institutions of the Federal Home Loan Bank System and is the only official organ or periodical publication of the Board. It is sent to all member institutions without charge. To others, a charge of \$1.00 is made.

Member institutions include the Federal Savings and Loan Associations, Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation.

Household Finance Corporation, 919 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

This commercial organization, although concerned with lending money at a profit, issues carefully prepared pamphlets on *Better Buymanship*. Each pamphlet—to date, twenty-two have been issued—analyzes one commodity or several allied consumer goods, giving scientific information on the article considered.

International Cooperative Alliance, London, England, publishes a monthly *Review of International Cooperatives*, \$1.75 a year, which features news concerning the development of the cooperative movement throughout the world.

National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. *More for Your Money: A Radio Program for Consumers*. A series of nine programs, which has since been published by the University of Chicago. The topics covered are (1) Capsules for Consumers, (2) Millions for Mars, The Low-Down on the High Cost of Living, (3) Good Medical Care for Less Money; (4) Hard Times with "Easy Payments"; (5) More for Your Money in Small Loans. How to Reduce Interest Rates, (6) The Consumer's

Stake in Sound Money; (7) More for Your Money: Science Points the Way; (8) The Consumer's Stake in the New NRA, (9) News Behind the News for Consumers. These printed addresses are obtainable from the University of Chicago Press at 15c each, or \$1.00 for all.

Pollak Foundation for Economic Research, Newton, Massachusetts An organization interested in the dissemination of economic information Some of the pamphlets issued by this foundation are: 22. *Painless Debustury*, 23 *To Tell You the Truth*, 27 *Can Consumers Stand the Truth?* 29. *Installment Buying, a Great American Illusion* These sell at five cents each, reduced rates being applicable on large orders.

United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., issues a wide variety of material. Among the reports of its Food and Drug Administration, the following are of worth. *Consumer, Save Thyself* (6 pp. mimeographed), *The Food and Drug Administration* (Miscellaneous Publications No. 48) *The Notices of Judgment of the Food and Drug Administration*, issued regularly, are very enlightening.

The department's Bureau of Home Economics issues consumer materials from time to time Three of its very valuable pamphlets are *Standards for Consumers' Goods* (13 pp. mimeographed reprint); *Present Guides for Household Buying* (36 pp.); *Sound Buying Methods for Consumers* (11 pp mimeographed reprint)

United States Department of Commerce, National Bureau of Standards, Washington, D C., has issued very many circulars and research papers on building and housing, commercial standards, and Federal specifications The following publications prepared by the National Bureau of Standards are available free of charge: *The Certification Plan—Its Significance, Scope, and Application to Selected Federal Specifications and Commercial Standards*, *Aid for Over-the-Counter Buyers* (Labeling Plan), *Services of the National Bureau of Standards to the Home-Building Industry* For a slight charge the following publications of interest to household purchasers are available C55, *Measurements for the Household* (45c); C70, *Materials for the Household* (50c), C397, *Safety for the Household* (15c).

United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., has issued an unusually large amount of material in the field of consumer education, particularly in consumer coöperation. Its *Monthly Labor Review* has generally been featuring news about and suggestions for consumer coöperatives. Of the many bulletins issued by its Bureau of Labor Statistics, the following are particularly pertinent: No. 598, *Organization and Management of Consumers Cooperatives*; No. 606, *Organization and Management of Cooperative Gasoline and Oil Associations* (with model by-laws); No. 608, *Organization and Management of*

Cooperative Housing Associations (with model by-laws); No. 612, *Consumers' Credit and Productive Cooperation*, No. 615, *The Massachusetts System of Savings-Bank Life Insurance*

The Consumers' Project of this governmental department prepared *A Selected List of Government Publications of Interest to Consumers*. In addition, the following splendid mimeographed pamphlets were prepared through this Project: *The Legal Structure of Consumers' Cooperative Societies* (1937), a 234-page study of standards of legislation and of the present state of the law governing consumer cooperatives. Its contents include: the need for legal expression of an economic reality, the Rochdale principles and their embodiment in the law, the implications behind the principles and their bearing on the law, some incidental problems. *Bills and Laws Affecting Consumers* (1937), a 104-page bulletin giving selections from bills and resolutions introduced in the 75th Congress from January 5 to May 15, 1937, and action taken on these proposals. The contents are arranged as follows: quality, quantity, and mode of sale of consumers' goods, consumers' cooperatives, consumers' credit; slum clearance and low rent housing, unfair trade practices, Federal regulation.

The following mimeographed material issued by the Department of Labor as part of the Consumers' Project also bears consideration: *Standards of Quality* (Bulletin No. 3), 11 pp.; *The Home Medicine Cabinet*, 22 pp.; *Survey of the Terms Used in Designating Qualities of Goods*, 59 pp.

Other organizations described in articles in this issue which supply materials.

American Association of University Women
30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

American Home Economics Association
Mills Building, Washington, D. C.

American Medical Association
535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Consumers' National Federation
205 East 42d Street, New York, N. Y.

National Consumers' League
156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.
1819 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Society for Curriculum Study
425 West 123d Street, New York, N. Y.

COURSE OUTLINES AND DISCUSSION MATERIALS¹

Consumers' and Producers' Cooperatives, A Short-Lesson Course, by A. J. Hayes, assistant educational director, Central Cooperative Wholesale, Superior, Wisconsin

Cooperative Marketing and Consumers' Cooperative Handbook, Price, Walton, Kaasa, Hoyde, and Goodell

Cooperative Life and Business, by Harriet Bunn and Ethel Falk. A textbook for schools distributed by The Cooperative League, 167 West 12th Street, New York City

Course of Study on Cooperation, Department of Education, State of Minnesota, St Paul, Minnesota. A recently prepared and excellent outline for high-school teachers and discussion-group leaders. Bibliography of supplementary materials in preparation.

A Unit on Cooperatives, Department of Social Studies, City Schools, Tulsa, Oklahoma. A three weeks' teaching unit for the eleventh grade. Excellent, with comprehensive bibliography

"The Cooperative Movement," by Benson Y. Landis, reprinted from the January 1937 issue of the *Journal of the National Education Association*, Washington, D. C.

Special coöperative issue of *Scholastic*, October 16, 1937. The Scholastic, 250 East 43d Street, New York City

"We Consumers," Volume 2, No. 6, of *Building America*, Society for Curriculum Study, 425 West 123d Street, New York City

Suggested Reading on Consumers Cooperation in Theory and Practice, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Mimeographed material

Studies in Principles of Cooperation for Kansas Young People, by Vance M. Rucker and Glenn S. Fox, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas

Cooperation, five lessons prepared by the Home Study Program, Department of Education, State of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minnesota

Extension Course in Cooperation, a 110-page outline prepared by the Department of Education, State of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minnesota

How Can the Buyer Get His Money's Worth? by R. K. Froker and M. P. Andersen, Extension Service, Extension Circular 178, 30-page outline, College of Agriculture, Madison, Wisconsin.

Consumers' Course, twelve units, approximately 100 pages, Idaho State Department of Education, Boise, Idaho.

¹ The following list was furnished through the courtesy of Mr. E. R. Bowen, executive secretary of The Cooperative League

- Film—*Cooperatives in Wisconsin*, a visual education film soon to be released by the Department of Visual Education, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin
- Co-ops, How Far Can They Go?* outline for discussion groups, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D C
- Cooperation*, for use by study groups in Resettlement Administration Communities, Resettlement Administration, Washington, D C
- Cooperation for Oklahoma Indians*, United States Department of the Interior, Washington, D C
- Course of Study in Consumers Cooperation*, bulletins and outlines prepared by WPA, State of Washington, Seattle, Washington
- Discussion Outline on Consumers Cooperation*, outline and extensive handbook, WPA, State of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
- Cooperatives—A Discussion Program* to be used with the Headline Book "Cooperatives" by R Goslin, Foreign Policy Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York City
- Rural Life Study Projects*, each deals with separate problems such as private property, credit unions, cooperation and cooperative associations, and legislation, published by The Queen's Work, 3742 West Pine Boulevard, St Louis, Missouri.
- Methods of Achieving Economic Justice*, a syllabus by the Friends Book Store, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- Seeking a New World Through Cooperatives*, by Carl Hutchinson, a 60 page discussion unit planned for Christian youth groups, distributed by The Cooperative League
- "Consumers' Cooperatives—a Debate Handbook," by Julia E Johnson, 1937, 295 pp Summarizes arguments for and against the cooperative movement, distributed by The Cooperative League
- Fundamentals of Consumers Cooperation*, by V S Alanne, a 120 page pamphlet distributed by The Cooperative League
- Questions Facing Consumers*, a pamphlet prepared by Benson Y Landis, Eastern Cooperative League, 112 Charlton Street, New York City.
- Guide for Discussion Circles*, pamphlet on methods of organizing and administering discussion groups, by The Cooperative League
- Discussion outline to be used with *Consumer Cooperation in America*, Carl Hutchinson, Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, Columbus, Ohio (*see* book review)
- Story Without End*, by Leslie A Paul, a syllabus prepared for use in the schools in England

Bibliographies

Consumers Cooperation, bulletin of the Russell Sage Foundation Library, No 134,
130 East 22d Street, New York City

Reading List on Consumers Cooperation, Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee,
Wisconsin.

Consumer Cooperative Societies, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce,
Washington, D. C.

Cooperative Bookshelf, Consumers Counsel, AAA, Washington, D. C

A Guide to the Literature on Consumer Movements, by Benson Y Landis, Con-
sumer Distribution Corporation, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

THE EVER GROWING CONSUMER BOOKSHELF

I. DAVID SATLOW

Cooperatives, by RYLLIS ALEXANDER GOSLIN. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1937, 481 pages.

This is No 8 of the series Headline Books. In this attractive booklet the philosophy and history of cooperatives are presented so that "he who runs may read"—and understand. In addition to the attractive format, the book is graphically illustrated. For the uninitiated, it serves as an excellent primer; for the student of the movement, a splendid summary of cooperation in Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and the United States

The Decline and Rise of the Consumer: A Philosophy of Consumer Cooperation, by HORACE M. KALLEN. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, 484 pages

Technological improvement makes possible abundance for all, but our prevailing system of producer dominance withholds these benefits from the people. Through the extension of the principles of coöperativism, the author would have us usher in "a consumer-governed economy where abundance is as conventional, as automatic as scarcity is now."

This book contains far more material than the subtitle suggests, for in one volume are found a history and an appraisal of the cooperative movement as well as its underlying philosophy. The author considers the various factors involved in this vast national and international movement. He feels that the institutional environment exerts more than enough external pressure upon the cooperatives to offset any deficiency of inward drive from which they may be suffering today.

The volume concludes with a fantastic epilogue in which the scene shifts to the year 2044, at which time the coöperative economy of service rather than profit pervades all production, and peace and understanding prevail.

The reader will find the book scientific in its approach, comprehensive in its scope, and lucid in its treatment.

The Economics of Consumption, by CHARLES S. WYAND. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1937, 565 pages

At one end of the scale, we have the supply of consumer goods; at the other end, the demand for such goods. The wide divergence between the two has been the cause of a good deal of dissension within the ranks of the malcontents. That the gap must be filled has been the conclusion of many thinkers on this important problem facing humanity. How this is to be effected without recourse to violence has been dealt with by very few.

That intelligent coordination of supply and demand for consumer goods can be effected by a careful analysis of consumer habits and producer habits is the premise of the author. By combining the contributions of sociology, psychology, and other social studies with the findings of current research workers in consumer laboratories, the author presents a volume rich in material. Though very many consumer facts of the "debunking" type are present, the book is notably lacking in the usual hysteria or sensationalism injected into treatments of such content. The copious references to current sources indicate both intensiveness and extensiveness of treatment.

The several chapters on commercial manipulation of consumer choice and price, the work of governmental units, and self-help by consumers should prove particularly valuable as springboards for discussion in any classroom, whether it be an elementary, secondary, or higher institution.

The appendix presents "An Enabling Act for a Department of the Consumer" by Oscar S. Fox. This proposed national act, designed among other things, "to protect, foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the ultimate consumers of the United States," attempts to combine in one department the many extensions of Federal activity in behalf of the consumer. It seeks to establish a number of divisions devoted to advertising control, research and experimentation, setting up of specifications, licensing, and publishing unbiased information for consumers. The many other provisions indicate that this is an act with teeth—and mighty sharp ones, at that. We shall, no doubt, be hearing more about this new development in the coming years. But to depend entirely on legislation is unwise. Education in the establishment of desirable behavior patterns resulting in wise choice by consumers should be one of the goals of the schools.

Family Finance: A Study in the Economics of Consumption, by
HOWARD F. BIGELOW. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1936,
519 pages.

Firmly convinced that it is possible to raise the general level of living only by raising the level on which each individual family lives, the author suggests methods and devices whereby the individual family may utilize all its financial, social, and personal resources to the utmost advantage. Treating the family as a consuming unit, the author indicates how its wants can be met by wise purchase and by production in the home. Problems of family finance involved in obtaining the primary wants of food, clothing, and shelter, as well as the more advanced present-day wants of life in a complex society, are analyzed. In his treatment of purchases of specific classes of commodities and services, the author refers to prevailing misconceptions and offers definite pointers to direct wise consumption. Budgeting, credit, and long-time planning for future consumption by the family are given careful consideration.

The organization of the book makes it suitable as a text in the all too few college courses offered on family finance.

Consumer Cooperation in America: Democracy's Way Out, by BERTRAM B. FOWLER. New York: Vanguard Press, 1936, 304 pages

That many Americans have awakened to a realization of the prevalence of an economic feudalism and have attempted to overthrow this yoke by means of the organization of consumers is the theme of the author. This economic feudalism takes the form of the middleman's monopoly of the market. While many thinkers have urged the elimination of the middleman, the consumer cooperative movement resorted to action by setting up purchasing organizations that buy consumer goods from the very source to which the middleman turns. When, because of the pressure of middlemen, this source of supply was denied, the coöperatives went further back in the chain of distribution and production, until they became wholesalers and, in a number of instances, did their own manufacturing and refining of products. With the profit motive eliminated, the coöperative could direct its attention to service in the form of improved quality.

In its growth, the consumer cooperative movement has written the declaration of economic independence of the consumer. The author indicates very vividly how, in a number of cases, this movement has succeeded in accomplishing what legislation could not do. Of the many implications, the outstanding one is that by education—for basically, a movement of this kind is dynamically educational—the consumer can

improve his lot more effectively than by dependence upon politicians and lawmakers. Written in a forceful manner, the book should appeal to those desiring a popular presentation of the subject, "something light yet serious."

More For Your Money: A Buyer's Guide, by HARRY BENNETT. New York: Chemical Publishing Company, 1937, 251 pages.

How frequently has one listened to attacks launched against certain adulterated products of the machine age, or read excoriating accounts concerning experts, legitimate or self-styled, who have lent their names for a consideration to products which, under no circumstances, should have been recommended. Since criticism of such unfair practices, however, was rarely accompanied by any concrete program of action, the average consumer accepted a philosophy of resignation which recognized the existence of this evil, but minimized its effects.

But the more intelligent reader insisted on asking, "How can I, in an age of specialization, recognize quality in everything I purchase?" An attempt to answer this question will be found in this book. Those who turn to this book for slogans and catchwords are doomed to disappointment, for no such thing is attempted by the author. The book is a manual, the author's proud boast being that in it "no names are named." Instead, suggestions are made on how to select the proper product, how to detect adulterations, and avoid the pitfalls in misleading or incomplete advertising. With but fourteen pages devoted to buying in general, label reading, and checking of quantities, the remaining pages are devoted to the wise purchase and preservation of definite items ranging from specific foods to automobiles, books, and life insurance.

Because the book is written tersely and clearly, it can be recommended to parent study groups as well as to other adult-education classes. From the practical point of view, it will net its owner a saving far in excess of the cost of the volume as well as reduce *careful* selection to habituated behavior.

Cooperative Enterprise, by JACOB BAKER. New York: Vanguard Press, 1937, 266 pages.

A compact and comprehensive book written by the director of the President's Inquiry on Coöperative Enterprise. It includes full and detailed information on the origin, growth, and achievements of coöperatives both in Europe and America.

The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

The need for coöperation and coördination between the school and the community has long been the concern of educators. The schools have looked toward a better working relationship with the home and the community agencies in order that they might be able to carry out their programs more effectively, and the parents have looked to the school for help in the matter of discipline and training. Just so, the community service organizations have looked to the home and the school for certain definite services to help in their work.

As far back as 1919, Cubberley¹ discussed this phase of educational responsibility. He said:

Viewed from the angle of child needs and child welfare the school became a new institution. Knowledge now came to be conceived as life experience and inner conviction, and not as the memorization of the accumulated learning of the past; as a tool to do something with, not as a finished product in itself. It came to be seen that facts possess but little real importance until they have been put to use. Child welfare and social welfare were perceived to be closely intertwined. To train children for and to introduce them into membership in the little community of

¹ Ellwood P. Cubberley, *State School Administration* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927), p. 268

which they form a part, and from this to extend their sense of membership outward to the life of the State, Nation, and to world civilization; to awaken guiding moral impulses; to fill them with the spirit of service; and to train them for effective self-direction—these became the great tasks of the modern school.

Education within the school, no matter how inclusive the curriculum or how many new types of service are added, remains but a small part of the real education of the child. We cannot think of him in a school as unrelated to his home group and his community. With the best that modern education can provide, the school may remain nonfunctional or less effective than it might be unless home, school, and community get together.

The child has had four, five, and sometimes six years of education before he comes under the influence of the school. Moreover, the influence of other contacts do not cease when the child begins to attend school. These contacts may be the reason why the school often appears to be ineffectual in its dealings with its pupils. Many schools continue, year after year, to labor with the child for a few hours each day, and pay little or no attention to the fact that he returns after school hours to an environment in which the germs of discontent, delinquency, and maladjustment are only too often prevalent.

It should be clear, therefore, that while the community has transferred its responsibilities to the school, the school must, on the other hand, look to the community for coöperation in carrying out the program of education. This joint responsibility is imperative if we are to turn out happy, efficient, and successful adults. Without these school-community relationships the school is headed for disappointment, disillusionment, and failure. It is with these points in mind that this issue of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* is presenting highlights on national, county, and local programs which may help both school and community in their endeavor to assist the child to prepare for his future relationships.

RHEA K. BOARDMAN

COÖPERATION AMONG NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE FIELDS OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE

M. M. CHAMBERS

American Council on Education

A preliminary survey of national associations whose activities relate to some phase of the care and education of American youth reveals that there are no fewer than five hundred organizations which must be comprehended within such a definition.¹ Among these are national associations promoting public health, recreation, and education, as well as general social-service groups and organizations interested in special classes, such as the physically handicapped, dependent children, and the delinquent and criminal. Other types included are the general character-building organizations for youth; the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish religious youth groups; and national student associations. Organizations for research and social planning, as well as those especially devoted to Negro and interracial problems, those representing agriculture and rural life, and the national women's clubs and service clubs also appear. Various patriotic, political, fraternal, labor, and peace organizations likewise are included.

Leaders in all of these areas of service are agreed that a major need is for better articulation of the activities of the many and diverse national organizations. One means by which progress may be made is through the efforts of national coöperative councils representing the several national associations in a given field, such as those of education, public health, recreation, public welfare, and religion. There are already in existence nearly a score of such coöperative councils. To sketch briefly their purposes, activities, and limitations is the purpose of this article.

¹ *Youth-Serving Organizations National Non Governmental Associations* (Washington, D C American Council on Education, 1937), 327 pages

RESEARCH COUNCILS

The war period was productive of efforts toward national coördination in the fields of research, education, and social service. Its earliest fruit was the National Research Council, consisting of appointed representatives of 83 national scientific and technical societies, and additional membership-at-large now aggregating about 240 persons. It was first set up in 1916, and has its purpose stated in an executive order of President Wilson dated May 11, 1918. Its object is to promote research and the application thereof in the mathematical, physical, and biological sciences and the arts derived from them, for the purpose "of increasing knowledge, of strengthening the national defense, and of contributing in other ways to the public welfare." It functions through a large number of committees and obtains support from various philanthropic sources. It occupies a building in Washington which was given to the National Academy of Sciences for the purpose by Carnegie Corporation of New York. From the same source it received a productive endowment now amounting to about \$3,500,000. Its operating budget for the latest fiscal year was in excess of \$500,000.

The Social Science Research Council, dating from 1923, consists of three representatives from each of the seven principal national organizations of social scientists and nine members-at-large chosen in rotating order from other fields of scientific and scholarly inquiry. It likewise obtains its support chiefly from philanthropic foundations. Its budget for the latest reported year exceeded \$450,000. Each of these great research councils awards a considerable number of postdoctoral and other fellowships from year to year, and finances a wide variety of researches and publications within its field.

EDUCATIONAL GROUPINGS

Another product of the war period was the American Council on Education, created in 1918, and now consisting of some thirty national educational associations as constituent members and an

equal number of national organizations in fields related to education as associate members, in addition to some 360 colleges and universities as institutional members. Furthermore, it has recently opened its membership to State departments of public instruction and to public-school systems in cities of over 200,000 population. In its earlier years its purview was largely limited to higher education, but its purpose is now "to advance American education in any or all of its phases through comprehensive voluntary cooperative action on the part of educational associations, organizations, and institutions." It collects membership fees of moderate size from its various members, but its researches, experiments, and conferences are financed largely by philanthropic sources. From time to time it sets up research projects of considerable magnitude to be executed by its standing committees or by temporary commissions. Chief among these at the present time is the American Youth Commission, consisting of seventeen nationally prominent persons authorized to conduct a comprehensive study of the care and education of American youth during the period 1935-1940, and financed by grants from the General Education Board.

The National Education Association of the United States is not, strictly speaking, a cooperative council of national societies, but it could hardly be omitted from a discussion of this type, due to the fact that it now consists of no less than twenty-four semiautonomous departments, several of which are in themselves national associations of considerable size and importance and with a long history. The Association itself dates from 1857. In addition to the regular work of its division of research and other service divisions, it is currently sponsoring in conjunction with its Department of Superintendence (American Association of School Administrators) a five-year research project conducted by the Educational Policies Commission, a group of twenty leading educators heading a study of problems of educational statesmanship, with the aid of philanthropic support.

In the field of education there are other cooperative national councils of more recent origin. The National Council of Parent Education was founded in 1926. It consists of twelve national organizations so varied in nature that they must be named. They include the American Association of University Women, the American Home Economics Association, the Catholic Conference on Family Life, the Federal Council of Churches, the International Council of Religious Education, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. The remaining five are bureaus of the United States Government, being the Office of Education, the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Home Economics, and the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture, and the Education Division of the WPA. In addition, the Council has affiliated with it numerous bureaus and departments of State and municipal governments and of colleges and universities, as well as some six hundred individual members.

The educational possibilities of radio have brought into existence several national groupings of interested associations. The annual National Conference on Educational Broadcasting was first held in 1935, to provide a national forum for the exchange of ideas and experiences, and to bring to a large and influential audience the findings that may become available from studies and researches in educational broadcasting. Approximately one hundred organizations sent official representatives to the second conference in 1937, which was sponsored by twenty-seven coöperating associations, among which were the National Committee on Education by Radio, which dates from 1930, and the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, established in the same year.

IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL WORK

National coördination among social-service organizations received a great impetus during the war period. Community Chests and Councils, Incorporated, an organization to aid the fund-raising

and other activities of local community chests and to stimulate community planning for social welfare, which annually administers the Mobilization for Human Needs on behalf of thirty-five national social-welfare organizations, was organized in 1918. Another agency of cooperation in the same field is the National Social Work Council, set up in 1920, and now composed of twenty-five constituent organizations. It conducts monthly meetings of representatives of these organizations, and gives consultative service regarding their problems and plans, with emphasis on the problem of support for social-work programs.

The oldest nucleus in the social-service field is the National Conference of Social Work, which held its first annual meeting in 1870. Its membership consists of some seven thousand individuals and about four hundred local institutions of various types. It is not a formal council of national agencies but, nevertheless, serves many of the purposes of such an organization, in view of the fact that a large number of national associations in social service and related fields habitually hold their annual meetings in conjunction with the annual Conference, and many of their representatives have places on the programs of one or more of the five permanent sections and the four standing committees of the Conference itself.

A relative newcomer among coöperative councils is the National Council for the Physically Handicapped, established in 1933. It is a clearing house for eight national associations concerned with persons having physical impairments, including the deaf and hard of hearing, the blind, and the tuberculous, as well as other societies interested in the rehabilitation of persons who have been crippled or otherwise disabled.

PUBLIC HEALTH

In the field of public health, the National Health Council, dating from 1921, is an active and effective agency of cooperation, representing some sixteen national health organizations, including two

bureaus of the United States Government—the Public Health Service and the Children's Bureau. The nongovernmental members include the American Public Health Association, the American National Red Cross, the National Tuberculosis Association, and a dozen other national societies in the health field. Many of these organizations have their headquarters in New York City in the same building where the Council maintains many common services for them all, such as the joint housing plan, a common library, joint arrangements for shipping, bookkeeping, purchasing, and certain clerical and communication services. It also heads up occasional joint enterprises such as campaigns against specific diseases, projects designed to promote health service for Negroes, and a national health congress.

GUIDANCE

Organizations in the field of guidance, personnel work, and placement have the most recently established national coöperative council in the American Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations, set up in 1934. Its constituency is composed of ten national and two regional organizations whose interests are wholly or in part in the guidance and personnel field.

RECREATION

Another organization of considerable interest is the National Education-Recreation Council, which acts as a bridge between two areas that are largely inseparable but too often regarded as mutually exclusive. It conducts periodic luncheon meetings in New York City for representatives of nineteen national organizations representing educational, recreational, character-building, and social-work interests, including also two whose activities are confined to the improvement of rural life.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Many of the national councils now in existence date their origin within the past twenty years. Among the Protestant religious groups, however, three of the councils now functioning are somewhat older. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America dates from 1905. It represents twenty-three constituent Protestant churches. The Council of Church Boards of Education has existed since 1911. It is composed of representatives of the educational departments of twenty-three Protestant churches, and of additional delegates from church-related colleges, from the American Association of Theological Schools, and from the International Council of Religious Education.

This last organization was created in 1912. It is an agency representing forty coöperating Protestant denominations in the United States and Canada, as well as a large number of State, provincial, and other local councils. Its purpose is stated as being "to promote Christian religious education, and the development of Christian individuals and a Christian social order." It is thus more general than that of the Council of Church Boards of Education, which is quite largely concerned with religious education and development in institutions of higher education, both denominational colleges and State universities. Either of these organizations is much more specialized than the Federal Council of Churches, the aim of which is to promote coöperation and increase efficiency among its constituency in every department of their operations.

A more recently created agency of interdenominational cooperation, concerned wholly with young persons, is the Joint Committee on United Youth Program, which has as its nucleus representatives of four standing committees of the International Council of Religious Education and delegates from the Federal Council of Churches and the Council of Church Boards of Education. In addi-

tion, it has representatives of the Y.M.C.A. National Council, the Y.W.C.A. National Board, the International Society of Christian Endeavor, the National Council of Methodist Youth, and other Protestant youth groups. Besides sponsoring publications under the general designation of "Christian Youth Building a New World," this committee also promotes a large number of assemblages of Protestant youth through its subcommittee known as the National Committee on Regional Youth Conferences.

INTERCOUNCIL TIES

One feature of the national picture not hitherto made plain is the fact that in several instances a national council in a given area of human service holds membership in a similar organization in the same or another field. Thus to some extent there are already established avenues of coöperation among the several fields at the apex of their organization. A few examples will illustrate. The National Education Association is a constituent member of the American Council on Education, and both are represented on the National Committee on Education by Radio. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and the International Council of Religious Education are both represented in the National Council of Parent Education. Both the National Council of Parent Education and the National Research Council are associate members of the American Council on Education.

The story of the ways in which the several cooperative councils have succeeded in coördinating the efforts of their constituent associations, and of what may yet be undertaken in that respect, would be a long and significant one. They have already done much to bring a semblance of unity to the vast congeries of private associations which characterizes the American scene, and more far-reaching achievements may be confidently hoped for as we progress toward higher forms of social organizations for the public good.

MEANING FOR THE SCHOOLS

Pupils in public and private schools throughout the land ought not to be kept in ignorance of the aims and activities of the hundreds of nonprofit organizations that seek to contribute to the welfare of youth through many channels. Some knowledge of what these agencies seek to accomplish and what they have to offer is essential to an understanding of our complex social scene. It is true that not every purveyor of propaganda can wisely be welcomed in the classroom, but it is no less true that some of the best impartial literature of our time on education, health, recreation, vocational guidance, and other problems of youth is issued by nongovernmental national associations led by scholarly and public-spirited men and women.

The best of these publications should have a place in the school library, and teachers will find many opportunities to enrich their equipment for the service of youth if they keep informed of the purposes and achievements of the national associations and councils in the educational and social-welfare fields. On both sides there is unquestionably much good will and willingness to cooperate for the benefit of children and youth.

UNEMPLOYED YOUTH AND THE SCHOOL, THE SOCIAL AGENCY, AND THE STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

ROSWELL WARD

Division of Guidance and Placement, National Youth Administration¹

A study of the relation of unemployed youth to the school and to the social agency requires some explanation of the emergence of the State employment service as a community agency and also requires a brief "preview" of several different problems. What are the problems of unemployed youth, and what has caused these problems? To what extent do youth require service different from that given to any other unemployed groups? What are the problems of the school in relation to unemployed youth? What can be done by the private social agency? What can be done by the State employment service of the various States, and why is the public employment service concerned? In the necessarily brief discussion of all of these questions certain relevant contributions of the Federal Government will appear, although this is by no means an article on governmental programs. It will also be evident that the attitude of organized labor, of employers, and of parents, the general public, and the church must also be considered.

THE PROBLEMS OF UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

The so-called youth group, usually defined as the group between sixteen and twenty-five years of age, shares with all other age groups the common problem of unemployment, together with its related problems of decreased purchasing power, increased temptation to delinquency, unpaired morale, poor health conditions, and exposure to substandard living conditions.

In addition to these problems common to all age groups, youth

¹ The viewpoints expressed herein represent only the author's personal views and are in no sense an official statement.

has some problems of its own. Some of these are: delayed or abandoned plans for further education, laws that may discourage hiring of youth; delayed marriage with its accompanying emotional problems; a somewhat higher delinquency rate than for other age groups; and, above all, increased difficulty in making individual judgments on personal problems of vocational selection, training, and employment; in other words, a general lack of any realistic community planning to adjust the "youth supply" to the "occupational demand" and to give young people and their parents general access to such information, keyed to the needs of the general public.

The causes of these special problems of unemployed youth are traceable to the same sources as those of the general unemployment situation, to which can be added several factors that affect youth more than other groups.

It is not generally understood that to some extent youth received the impact of the depression *indirectly*, through the *lowering of parental incomes*. There has always been widespread unemployment of youth, in good times and in bad, but in most instances the parents were able to assist their youth until the youth became "settled." This for years has been one of the traditional functions of parents and one which they usually accepted as a matter of course until parental incomes began to slump.

It is this traditional American parental acceptance of the financial support of youth who were finding their place, by trial-and-error methods, that has tended to make the problem of unemployed out-of-school youth appear to be a new national problem rather than an old problem which has greatly increased in magnitude. This may also explain why it did not receive the complete study which it should have received many years ago, even though it existed then on a smaller scale.

In addition to removing the "parental economic shock absorber," the depression also cut off many of the usual avenues for youth employment: labor unions limited employment of apprentices; em-

ployers gave up training programs for young workers; impaired school budgets cut down school resources; scholarship funds were decreased—youth got it “coming and going.” Neither parents nor schools nor private employment could carry them; and to cap the climax, many radical changes took place in industry—making it much more dangerous to depend on the usual sources of occupational information in developing personal working plans.

It is bad enough to have the economic machine begin to slow down just when one wants to find his place in it, but it is immeasurably more difficult when that machine gradually gets vastly more complicated at the same time! This difficulty in obtaining accurate information in regard to employers' needs and employment opportunities and standards has been felt not only by individual youth but also by schools and other agencies who need such information in order properly to advise young people or to develop training programs that will meet known community occupational needs, and it is this difficulty that underlies, to a considerable extent, the absence of realistic “youth planning” referred to above.

It is true that there has rarely been any marked tendency on the part of the schools to study objectively the occupational opportunities in their community and to use this data as a basis for guidance and curriculum building. This is not entirely due to academic conservatism, but rather to the fact that such information is difficult to obtain and is subject to gradual change as the technology of industry changes, and also to the fact that such planning is not altogether a school problem but rather a community problem.

We may, therefore, place major responsibility for the predicament of unemployed youth on three special causative factors, two of which are related to the general economic situation and the other traceable to technical trends

1. The decline of the parent as the traditional relief agency for unemployed youth
2. The limiting of employment of young people as an age group

- 3 The lack of information on occupational opportunities and community needs, as a general guide to ensure the employability of youth for those jobs that exist and as a safeguard against training for overcrowded occupations

TO WHAT EXTENT DO UNEMPLOYED YOUTH
REQUIRE SPECIAL RESOURCES?

Since youth has some special problems superimposed upon our general economic maladjustment, it follows logically that youth requires some special aid in addition to the general assistance given to all unemployed groups. It is also evident that youth requires special attention in any reorganization of the economic and social machine that may be undertaken to level out future rapid fluctuations between prosperity and poverty and to reduce the grave economic inequalities which exist in our population.

The development of these special resources, it should again be emphasized, is not just an emergency problem. The problem existed, to a limited degree, long before 1929. We were patient with it because the youth group and their parents were patient, and because we were not fully aware that the traditional information on employment opportunities was inadequate. After the emergency is forgotten, the problem of proper orientation of hordes of unemployed youth will not disappear. It is with us to stay. It is not likely that parents will ever assume, or could ever assume, the burden again. Neither their budgets nor their ability to advise young people in regard to occupational opportunities will stand the strain in the future.

How these special resources are or can be developed will be evident in the following pages. While many people feel that it is self-evident that youth requires new and special resources to meet problems that have long existed but are now increased in scope, it is also evident that there are groups which do not accept this view. They say that special service for youth is "coddling." This criticism is justified to the extent that many youth agencies, schools, and par-

ents have produced a delayed immaturity in large youth groups by the use of oversentimental methods.

Special resources for assisting unemployed youth are needed and such resources must impart a greater realism and objectivity to youth programs as they are developed and reoriented in our schools, social agencies, and employment services.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SCHOOL AND UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

Readers may look in vain, in the section devoted to causes of the special youth problems, for the often repeated charge that the schools are responsible for much youth unemployment because of an overemphasis on academic training and corresponding neglect of training for the skilled and semiskilled vocations. Lack of proper training undoubtedly has caused much unemployment. Youth were not trained to fill jobs that existed. The schools are now facing a demand for training and retraining of unemployed youth, and must inevitably adopt proper safeguards against a continuance of unemployment of youth to the extent to which such unemployment can be corrected by more realistic training programs. While every dictate of common sense indicates an extension of vocational education, it must be recognized that this involves some rather difficult problems not entirely under school control.

There is at present a serious shortage of skilled labor in all trades. There is also a shortage of some types of semiskilled workers in many communities, and there is so little attention given to the problem of the semiskilled that many people do not even know what the term means. (It means work where only a limited degree of skill, judgment, and ability to work without detailed, constant supervision is required.) The demand for semiskilled workers in industry is increasing. As one authority has said, "The schools have been pointing up, industry is pointing down." Industry probably needs no smaller number of skilled workers, but it now uses hordes of semiskilled in factories where thirty years ago only skilled labor predominated.

To say that lack of sufficient vocational schools is an isolated and predominating cause of youth unemployment is an oversimplification which is dangerously attractive to some observers. The cause lies deeper than that and has been indicated in reference to the widespread neglect of the problem of unemployed youth prior to 1929, and in indicating the general lack of adequate information regarding actual present and future employment trends, opportunities, and requirements.

The school must take a major share of the blame for this, but industry itself, organized labor, and, above all, the parents of youth and the general public must also be held responsible. The problem cuts deep into our traditions of democracy and unrestricted opportunity.

Suppose we should cut down academic education to permit more money for vocational schools and to correlate more closely with the oft-quoted figures that show only a small proportion of our academic high-school youth going on to college: what will be the result? We know that more youth could be made employable for the jobs that they are inexorably destined to fill. But in this process of limiting admittance to academic schools, as would be necessary, and throwing open more vocational schools, will youth sacrifice its deeply founded urge to higher education, even though it is often a cruel fantasy? Will parents agree to what in the last analysis will be the creation of scholastic class distinctions? Will organized labor, employers, and church groups make the adjustments needed to correlate with greater emphasis on vocational education and less emphasis on academic training? Can they be educated to see that lack of proper school adjustment of youth is a cruel form of illusionary democracy?

The proponents of a desperately needed program of enlarged vocational training sometimes do not realize that in the background is the financially necessary corollary of a limitation on entrance to academic high schools. Are they certain that our skills in individual judgment of student achievements are adequate for us to face

the responsibility of assuming an authoritative role, far beyond that yet exerted in our schools, and flatly tell many students that their chances for success are better in vocational schools?

The maintenance of our democratic checks and balances is as important as the maintenance of our economic well-being. A democracy is content to be inefficient because up to a certain point it would rather have individual liberty of action than efficiency. Liberty and democracy are not just catchwords. They have been nowhere more evident than in the hit-and-miss development of schools which do not train for the preponderance of jobs that exist; which give no adequate picture of social realities; and which release students ignorant of many of the grave responsibilities of their future life, particularly marriage, the problems of the consumer, and the real problems of the voter.

Therefore, just to arraign the schools and say that they had been too preoccupied with cultural objectives and with expansion to meet the tremendous demand for more high-school and college education is not enough. The leaders in education are slowly becoming aware of these things. The critics on the outside will do better to back up their efforts to reform themselves by preparing youth and public opinion to accept those reforms voluntarily and with complete understanding rather than as an apparent coercive effort to limit academic opportunity.

The Federal Government has been on both sides of this question. It has assisted our predominantly academic high schools and colleges through the NYA High School and College Aid Program. Probably some students who would be benefited more by non-academic training are nevertheless getting academic training by Government subsidy. Government agencies have assisted in construction of both academic and vocational high schools. The Smith-Hughes Act, the impending George-Dean subsidies, the emphasis of the CCC and the NYA Works Programs on skilled and semi-skilled occupations are all resources that are needed and that at

present only the Federal Government has had the taxing or borrowing power to finance.

Another governmental activity is the guidance program of the NYA which is supervised by Dr. Mary H. S. Hayes. It is highly decentralized, but it is focused on the need for more emphasis on skilled and semiskilled occupations. It has educated many youth away from "white-collar delusions" and has also influenced their parents, their former teachers, and the general public. The basis of this work can be defined in three words: *accurate occupational information*. We have given some youth, and will give more of them, reliable information on which they can base their own decisions. In this and related work we have come close to developing new and realistic skills and standards for guidance of out-of-school youth.

The NYA Passamoquoddy "Work Experience Project," operated under a committee representing education, organized labor, and industry under the chairmanship of Colonel Henry Waite, points the way to realistic voluntary choice of trade training and to an actual tryout under working conditions on which counselors can safely base judgments and suggestions. It is quite possible that we do not yet realize what a tremendous influence this project may have on educational and guidance methods.

Hence the relationship of schools to unemployed youth is very largely a problem of curriculum reorganization, based on the recognition of actual vocational needs and other reforms (particularly a recognition of the greatly increasing responsibilities and resources of the State employment services), to ensure that no youth can in future say: "I did not get a job because the school let me down." It will be seen further along in this article how coöperation with social agencies and State employment services can assist in this work, but it must be emphasized that the school alone cannot, by increasing vocational training, achieve greater realism in other ways without informed community support and understanding.

THE RELATION OF THE SOCIAL AGENCY
TO UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

The term "social agency" is taken to mean private social agencies. Unemployed youth have created many grave problems for them. It has made it much more difficult to consider the family as a social unit, the basis of the traditional casework approach. The youth of the family often have economic, educational, occupational, and morale problems of a highly specialized nature.

Some private social agencies have ventured into vocational-guidance programs, often handicapped by the difficulty of obtaining qualified social workers who have the realistic knowledge of occupations required to carry on guidance for out-of-school youth. Many private social agencies and many youth agencies, especially those called "character-building agencies," have undertaken to do junior placement, retraining, "refresher" training, and, in some cases, basic vocational training.

In some communities private social agencies are doing work that could more effectively be done by the schools or by the State employment service, if funds were made available to them. Human nature being what it is, no community chest or agency directorate has ever had its staff suggest, "The school or the employment service can do this better; let's give the money to them."

There is often among social workers a tendency to want to "take on" a family rather than a youth; a tendency to approach youth problems too broadly; to overemphasize a psychiatric approach when some sound occupational information would be more useful; to overstress religion; and to a limited extent to use an immature or oversentimental approach.

I have given the criticisms of an outside observer possibly more emphasis than they deserve. However, these should not detract from a full appreciation of the absolutely essential contributions made by social agencies as a link in the community chain. The private agencies render special service impossible in public agencies

They make demonstrations and do pioneer work of inestimable value. For example, one privately financed agency, Vocational Service for Juniors, is largely responsible for much of the early development of standards of junior placement, of guidance for out-of-school youth, and for realistic training for vocational counselors for in-school or out-of-school duty.

Generally, it is suggested that the private agencies' greatest potential contribution to unemployed youth is to do things for them which no governmental or community agencies can do, and in some cases to do these things on a long-term demonstration basis with the avowed intent of transferring responsibility when the public mind and the public budget catch up with the idea.

UNEMPLOYED YOUTH AND THE STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

Every State has a State employment service, to which the United States Employment Service contributes funds and acts as a guardian angel over its personnel and professional standards. In January 1938, three months before this article is published, twenty-two of these States began to pay unemployment compensation benefits and received further funds and expert counsel from the unemployment compensation division of the Social Security Board. Finally, some twenty-nine of these States have had, or are having, demonstrations of junior placement financed by the NYA, which supplies funds for personnel and which acts as technical adviser on junior-placement matters. Several States, as a result of these demonstrations, are financing junior placement themselves. In New York State, Ohio, Michigan, California, and Colorado, the junior-placement program has been paralleled by "junior consultation services" which offer an intensive and highly realistic aid in occupational planning to a limited number of applicants referred by junior-placement counselors, social agencies, and schools. The funds for these services have been provided by NYA and private agencies and service clubs.

Since 1933 we have seen a real renaissance in our State employ-

ment services. They are achieving higher and higher standards of personnel and procedures. Politics, if it appears, is rather definitely crushed. One can safely say that in 1938 there are no more politics in the average State employment service than in the average school system.

There is a gradual recognition of the need for special resources for junior placement in State employment services. In some instances the old "hard-boiled" labor-exchange attitude (an antique hangover) or a desire not to be bothered hold out against a special division for juniors. This opposition is limited.

The State employment service will very soon be the community center for unemployment compensation. It is now the center that is being increasingly recognized by every one in the community for placement in private employment, by personnel which recognizes just one standard: the applicant's fitness for the job.

These services, with offices in every community, are also the *only* community agency that, for unemployed youth, can provide opportunity for private placement coordinated with unemployment compensation benefits when the youth is eligible for them; and which possess an accurate, up-to-the-minute fund of information on employment trends and occupational requirements.

Many State employment services do not yet fully realize their unique position as the potential community headquarters for accurate occupational information. A few of them, for example, the Ohio State Employment Service, under the direction of W. T. Doe, have already made the employment office a center for community research and community planning in regard to employment matters. (The Ohio development of this broad concept has mainly been in the Cincinnati Employment Center, formerly directed by Stanley B. Mathewson and now directed by Dr. Lorin Thompson.)

It has been indicated that the schools need a closer integration with actual employment conditions and requirements. They need, to some extent, to rediscover their communities. They also need to

discover the State employment service as the one community agency that can provide a broad approach for placement in private industry and which can also provide essential information regarding the occupational needs of the employers in the community.

It has also been indicated that the private social agency needs to delegate those youth functions which can better be done by some one else. They need to discover the State employment service and to learn how to use it.

The State employment service in turn can obtain valuable data on the individual, usually in summary form, from the schools and the social agencies, in order better to judge the potentialities of youth and properly to orient its occupational information and placement work. In some cases, the State employment service can participate in the operation of a junior consultation service for out-of-school youth, paralleling its junior placement work, if it has the necessary support of schools, private agencies, and the community.

These things are being done, to a greater or less degree, in several cities, usually with some NYA financing and technical assistance. They are pointing the way, overcoming the traditional prejudice of many professional workers against State employment services, and building up channels of interchange of sorely needed information. When community agencies and schools learn really to use the employment service and when the employment services fully recognize their own community significance, the essential link with occupational realities which is needed in our handling of unemployed youth will have been achieved.

There is some question on the part of some school authorities whether they should relinquish junior placement to their State employment service. The NYA selected the State employment services for its own demonstrations of junior placement because it felt that such agencies serve all youth and because they offer an essential link with adult placement as "the youth grows older." Also, the development of unemployment compensation makes it mandatory

for a large proportion of young workers to maintain regular contact with the State employment service.

We are dealing here to some extent with "potentialities" in the development of State employment services which have not yet been fully or uniformly realized. Many of them are faced with greatly increased responsibilities which must be absorbed before their permanent community usefulness in relation to the schools and the private social agencies will be fully realized.

CONCLUSION

The relation of the school, the social agency, and the employment service to unemployed youth requires a greater degree of occupational reality. This is a basic community problem in which all three are inseparably involved and in the solution of which all three require some reorientation, readjustment of viewpoint, and recognition of a mutual interest.

The realist in matters of this type has little faith in attempts at reorganization or clarification unless buttressed by an informed and educated public opinion. The needs and opportunities for unemployed youth probably require much more widespread public support and understanding. A facing of occupational facts and greater dissemination of them by all concerned is therefore indicated with especial emphasis on information for parents.

Practical considerations of democratic control, decentralization, individual differences in viewpoint, freedom for development of new ideas—all suggest that the most effective approach to the present and future needs of unemployed youth can be made by a mutual recognition of the need for carefully assembled occupational data showing community work opportunities and standards, by the evolution of a few simple objectives for a program to prepare youth for these opportunities, and by a realistic and not too detailed coöperative effort on the part of all community agencies to attain these objectives.

COÖPERATION OF THE MONMOUTH COUNTY ORGANIZATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AND THE SCHOOLS OF MONMOUTH COUNTY

HARRIET B. COOK

Monmouth County Organization for Social Service

TYPE OF COUNTY

Monmouth County lies midway between north and south Jersey, and has a long coast line. At the central section it narrows to about ten miles in width and extends to within a few miles of Trenton. It has an area of about 460 square miles and a permanent population of about 160,000. Along the shore is a large and shifting population with many cottages and beautiful summer homes; back from the shore in the north and central parts are fertile farm lands. Fringing and south of this are two or three townships and parts of others where there are miles of pines and sand. Here the people are very poor. Most of the little one-room frame schools are now consolidated with the aid of Federal funds.

HOW COOPERATION BEGAN

A little over twenty-five years ago the present president of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service, then a member of the State Charities Aid Association, made a survey of conditions in Monmouth County. The results of this investigation led to the forming of a Monmouth County branch of the State Charities Aid Association, which incorporated in 1918 under the present name, Monmouth County Organization for Social Service. The original board of Directors was made up of interested and influential people including the president of the State Board of Education, resident of this county, and the County superintendent of schools. Naturally, among the first committees formed were those which vitally concerned the welfare of children of school age.

The principles and policies adopted at this early date were these:

1. Not to "build an organization" but to plant one and help it to grow
2. To base all action on knowledge, as complete as possible, of the people and conditions to be dealt with
3. To take the whole social problem and to try, as one united force, to meet it in a progressive spirit
4. To centralize information and to promote concerted action but, at the same time, leave wide freedom for local initiative
5. Not to mistake rigidity for strength, but to realize that length of life and continuing usefulness depend upon alertness of mind, flexibility, and adaptability to changing conditions

Realizing that much of the sickness and unemployment resulted from neglected childhood, the logical place to begin seemed to be with the children. A field worker, who had had three years experience with the Vineland Training School, was employed to study maladjusted children in the county, the delinquent children that came before the courts, and the retarded children in the public schools, as well as the neglected children brought to the attention of the organization.

The first step in making such a study was to get all children registered and in school if possible, so that the school might become a social laboratory where the children could be studied physically and mentally and given an education adapted to their needs. An interested individual donated to the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service money to be used as the salary of a woman county attendance supervisor. Later the organization was successful in getting legislation passed creating such an office.

SPECIAL CLASSES

With a large percentage of the children accounted for, a study of the three-to-four-years-retarded children was finished. With the advice of State and county school officials, the field worker was appointed the supervising principal of three rural townships in

order to demonstrate the practicability of special instruction for the mentally retarded in rural communities. It then became necessary to establish scholarships for the training of special teachers at Vine-land Summer School to encourage those capable of doing this exceptional service in the schools. This fund was provided by interested people through the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service. After a three-year demonstration, the Department of Child Study, as it is known today, was created by additional legislation and financed by public funds through the office of the County Superintendent of Schools. For several years thereafter, however, the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service continued to supplement the supervisor's salary and to furnish secretarial assistance and office space. Today Monmouth County has the distinction of having the largest number of special classes of any rural county—largely due to the fact that the work has been developed as a county unit.

SCHOOL HEALTH WORK

Even in the early days of this organization there were a few school medical inspectors. A County Superintendent, however, made this statement: "Medical inspection without nursing follow-up service is a waste of the doctor's time and is of small good to the child." Again funds were provided to make a survey. This was in 1914 and Miss Anna Stanley, who had been five or six years at the head of the Department of School Nursing at Cleveland and was at that time completing a course in public-health nursing at Teachers College, agreed to give three months to this survey. At the end of one month she was able to convince the Board of Directors of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service that there was a need for more and better health work throughout the county and especially in the rural communities. A public-health nurse was then appointed as a permanent member of the staff of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service.

To initiate school nursing and to demonstrate its value, all the rural and small urban boards of education were approached by a member of the staff of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service and were offered nursing service at the rate of one day for each fifteen children at almost any monetary consideration that gave evidence of interest. In a few very poor townships medical inspection by a doctor was included. A traveling school nurse who, during this demonstration period, served eight or ten such districts was employed. These demonstrations gradually led schools to desire more of the nurse's time. The number of districts were decreased and more nurses added.

To decrease mileage and to avoid duplication of work, the organization adopted the policy of having a qualified public-health nurse do the schoolwork as part of a generalized community public-health-nursing program. The schools paid one dollar per child; the board of health one to two hundred dollars, depending upon the size of the community. Service groups often contributed. The Monmouth County Organization for Social Service subsidized the remainder. When a good lay committee, representative of all activities in the municipality, was formed to interpret the work of the nurse and to encourage support of the program, it was only a few years before communities were financing the local auxiliary to the extent of their financial ability.

The Monmouth County Organization for Social Service realized early that certain rural townships, with low ratables and small, scattered populations, would never be able adequately to finance public-health-nursing service. In 1929, through the instigation of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service, a permissive act of the State legislature¹ made it possible for counties and public bodies to appropriate funds to qualified incorporated private agencies for a joint program. As a result, contracts were drawn up by the County of Monmouth whereby a threefold partnership—

¹ See Public Health Laws of New Jersey, 1929, page 259, Chapter 148

the county of Monmouth, the municipality, and the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service—was inaugurated. Each contributed an equal amount of money. Within the political division the school, board of health, or other local public agencies made up the third. This permitted communities that were small and where ratables were low to receive the same quality of public-health-nursing service as the larger and more prosperous communities. With the various methods of encouraging and subsidizing public-health-nursing service, including school nursing and other health work, sixty public-health nurses are now serving Monmouth County with its 160,000 population. Probably no rural county, as a whole, is more adequately served with school nursing.

The director of public-health nursing of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service was appointed county advisory nurse and the educational supervisor helping teacher for health education on the staff of the County Superintendent of Schools on a part-time basis. The educational opportunities arranged for the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service staff are available also for the staff nurses in organizations fully financing their own work. Through the helping-teacher link-up, there is opportunity for a better articulation of teacher, school nurse, and community health-education work. This has made for a fine quality of service and a fine spirit of coöperation.

MENTAL HYGIENE AND CHILD STUDY

While child study within the school system was being developed, it became obvious that not only the retarded children but other children as well needed further special service. Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, who was then a member of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, was consulted by the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service board. He recommended the first measure attempted be a mobile mental-hygiene clinic. In 1921 the program was inaugurated by a grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Me-

morial fund supplemented by the Commonwealth fund to function in connection with the national program for juvenile delinquency.

At the end of two years, a different program in the same field of mental health and social adjustment was presented to the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation. This was accepted and the organization was given a generous grant for a demonstration that seemed more closely related to existing community needs.

This demonstration included such activities as training for leadership in parent education, child-study groups, and other preventive work. Among the preventive aspects were habit clinics for parent consultations, adolescent consultation centers, and conference periods for principals and teachers. A first-grade survey and group tests in grades III to VIII were also offered by letter to each school principal in the county. At that early date very little testing had been done and the response was immediate. Only six principals in the county did not ask for the service. The following year 3,316 first-grade children and 435 from grades three to seven were tested and retested. Suggestions were made for individual examinations for those of superior intelligence of 120 or over and likewise for those of inferior intelligence of 75 or below. In 190 cases permission was obtained from parents for an individual psychological study. Regular group conferences regarding individuals studied were held with the psychologist, psychiatrist, school nurse, teacher, and any others who could assist in the carrying out of the recommendations.

Through the educational director and the psychologist, who were on the faculty at Teachers College, credit courses in child study and behavior problems were given for the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service staff, teachers, and interested parents. This led to better lay understanding of the "nature and needs of children."

After a period of demonstration, the detailed type of work carried on under this program was found to be too expensive to be absorbed by local communities. For that reason this organization welcomed the opportunity to coordinate local activities with the State Depart-

ment of Institutions and Agencies in the field of mental-hygiene work. Regular weekly psychiatric and psychological clinics were arranged through them and have continued through the various health centers of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service, available even to the most rural school districts on a county-wide basis.

That the services of the director of parent-education and child-study groups might continue to be available, three years before the memorial funds were withdrawn the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service arranged with the State university for a demonstration on a State-wide basis and continued the salary of the director. This was so successful that at the end of this period she was made a permanent member of the University faculty. Not only the State, therefore, but Monmouth County continued to have the advantage of her advice and assistance on a permanent basis. Parent groups through Parent Teachers' Associations and through play centers continued discussion groups, stimulated by radio talks and printed matter arranged by their former local director.

VISITING TEACHER

Through the initiative of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service, Monmouth was fortunate in being one of the first rural counties to have a visiting teacher. The Commonwealth Foundation was sponsoring the visiting-teacher movement. Previous relationships in the mental-hygiene field gave them confidence that the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service was an *incorporated group that would interpret and support such a worker in the county.* They were glad therefore, to create such a position through the National Education Association. The arrangements were made that the Commonwealth Fund should pay two thirds of her salary and that the remainder be met one third by the Board of Education of Red Bank and two thirds by this organization for work throughout the county under the direction of the County

Superintendent of Schools. At the end of a successful two-year demonstration the visiting teacher was taken over entirely by the Red Bank schools. In the more rural districts which had been so understandingly served by her, philosophies of the visiting-teacher movement are being carried out in a modified way by others in the schools.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

It was not only in those areas that lay directly in the school field that the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service was able to coöperate with the schools but as soon as funds were released from one demonstration the organization was ready to take into consideration the next most pressing need. Among these were recreational centers; play schools for preschool children, with regular observation periods for high-school pupils; scouting; Confidential Social Service Exchange; and health clinics of various kinds. Education of the public regarding needs such as a county tuberculosis sanatorium, a welfare home for indigent aged and chronically ill, and a children's shelter for homeless and incorrigible children pending juvenile-court action was another important community service.

PRESENT SITUATION

Besides those services mentioned in the previous paragraphs, there are now ten well-equipped and staffed health and welfare centers, auxiliaries of Monmouth County Organization for Social Service, scattered about Monmouth County. These are readily available to the rural communities without undue travel.

Each auxiliary functions through representative local committees comprised of community leaders and usually include the supervising principal and one or more members of the local board of education. Here policies affecting the health and welfare of the community are discussed and procedures determined.

The county superintendent of schools is officially a member of the Board of Directors of the Monmouth County Organization for

Social Service. Other school workers of county-wide interest meet regularly with the Health and Public Relations Committees of the Board of Directors.

Thirty-eight of the sixty public-health nurses in Monmouth County are doing school nursing. Thirty-three part-time school nurses in a generalized public-health-nursing program and five full-time school nurses are employed through local boards of education in four urban districts. All but five coast resort towns have school-nursing service. All the rural schools are covered. The Monmouth County Organization for Social Service continues to cooperate through partnership with twenty-six of the more rural districts. To the other districts advice and educational opportunities are available when desired. Because of this link-up, there is better understanding between the private and official groups working with the schools.

SUMMARY

1914—*County attendance supervision*. Organized and financed by the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service; now entirely financed through a budget of the County Superintendent of Schools.

1915—*Supervision of child study*. Organized by the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service; now on State funds.

1918—*Special Classes*. Initiated by the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service, now thirteen such classes are financed by public monies under the Supervisor of Child Study.

1918—*Recreation*. With the cooperation of the county superintendent, the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service employed a full-time recreational director for eighteen rural schools. Now supervised play is organized through the local school systems.

1921—*School nursing*. Organized by the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service. There are now thirty-three generalized school nurses jointly financed under laws of 1929, and five full-time school nurses financed and organized by four urban dis-

tricts. In 1920 two large school districts had one full-time school nurse each; now, forty-three school districts, including all of the rural schools, have nursing service.

1922—*Mental-hygiene and parent-education program* Developed through private funds under auspices of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service; now financed by the State Department of Institutions and Agencies.

1923—*Visiting teacher*. Through the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service, Monmouth County was selected by the Commonwealth Fund to be one of the earliest fields for experimentation. One visiting teacher is now financed by Red Bank.

Mrs. Lewis S. Thompson, president of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service, in one of her annual reports writes as follows:

The policy of coördinated activity means growth, both in the county and in the local unit, and reaches up to the State asking for leadership and giving support. It is a growth both at the bottom and at the top and makes for steady progress and common understanding. I believe that any welfare program that is built on both the interest and financial support of the State, county, and local unit is stronger than any of these could build alone. It is not only the fact that coöperation is learned by coöperating, the one and only way, but that these partners share in a joint program to which they each make a definite, distinct, and necessary contribution of service and money, and are therefore held together by natural bonds.

In closing let me say: If the cost to humanity in the wastage of child life is ever to be stopped, and if the cost in dollars to the taxpayer for the institutional care is ever to be lessened, it will be through bringing the problem back to the home and the community from which it came, and asking them to undo their misdeeds and redeem their failures

HOW THE SOCIAL FORCES OF A COMMUNITY ARE COORDINATED TO SERVE CHILDREN

JOHN B. DOUGALL

Superintendent of Schools, Summit, N. J.

and

NORA ALICE WAY

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The critical economic period which occurred between the years 1930 and 1936 and its consequent social unrest have directed the attention of educators toward a more liberal social philosophy of public education. A new concept of social responsibility is being generally accepted by administrators as well as by classroom teachers. In fact, the new social philosophy has become one of the ideals of education.

During this same period much progress has been made in the completion of carefully planned and well-equipped school buildings, many of them subsidized largely with Federal funds. A more comprehensive and practical curriculum has been prepared which, with improved teaching procedures, has resulted in better educational service for the individual child. There has been a tendency during these changes for many ambitious school administrators to include under extracurricular labels community services which were already well organized and successfully conducted by agencies outside of school control. Some administrators in their desire to promote school efficiency have failed to recognize that the public school is only one of many sources of education which directly affect the knowledge and character as well as influence the social attitudes of youth.

A broader concept of learning presupposes that true education comes from the sum total of all our experiences. These experiences naturally are found in the home, church, school, playground, library, theater, motion pictures, radio, Scouts, Camp Fire Girls,

4-H Clubs, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Y.M.H.A. organizations, and even the playmates of children. All of these agencies may affect youth education and many are found available in well-organized communities. School administrators should realize that any program of public education must give due consideration to these supplemental mediums of education and offer coöperation for a mutual sharing of educational service with them. It is true, however, that in some communities the public school is the best equipped or even the only social agency to meet welfare needs. Our community life has become so involved with human welfare service that public education, willingly or not, is forced to participate in the growth of a common enterprise of social improvement. The school program of the future must plan to capitalize the worth-while values in those agencies that have been mentioned. Some of their real usefulness has been lost because the duplication of service presented a problem for the parent as well as the child. One would assume that the first step in the elimination of the problem of duplication should be a development of a coöperative community program. In such a program each agency shares its service for the ultimate educational, social, and character growth of children who will become its future influential citizens. There are many cities and a few smaller communities where the welfare agencies have subordinated their individual interests and have merged into a coöperative group usually called a coördinating council or council of social agencies. Such organizations have required that each agency define its purposes and outline a program which results in eliminating the duplication of effort and in creating a more efficient community service for youth. Here is a new field where the public school has an opportunity to assume some leadership through its child-guidance department and become identified in the promotion of coöperative group programs.

Summit, New Jersey, is regarded as a fine residential city of approximately sixteen thousand population, located in the Baltusrol

Hills twenty miles from New York City. It is a community noted for its beautiful homes, good churches, progressive public and private schools, and the large number of persons directly interested in social welfare. The program of public education has been planned to recognize individual differences of pupils, realizing that all are more or less confronted with certain mental, physical, and emotional problems which require personal attention in order that children may find their proper places in life and become useful members of the social group where they live. Some eight years ago the superintendent of schools organized departments of child health and child guidance more effectively to serve these individual differences of pupils and more efficiently to deal with the emotional and delinquent problems through casework. The departments consist of the medical and dental staffs, the school psychologist who evaluates academic achievement by means of tests and measurements, a director of educational and vocational guidance for the junior high school, four high-school guidance counselors, and a trained psychiatric social worker who is called the visiting teacher. Each group has greatly improved the health service and the social welfare for the entire school system. Their work has been so well accepted that many members of the staff are now called upon for leadership and counsel by the welfare organizations in the city. Summit was such a highly organized community, with so many welfare groups all attempting to serve the youth, that it became necessary to make a careful survey of the various agencies to determine where the overlapping of services was most apparent.

The development of a cooperative plan has been slow but apparently each step was accepted before the next was taken. At present, when the whole country is talking coordinating councils, public opinion might help the process along much faster.

However, the cooperative plan in this community is reported as it actually happened and as it has been experienced by the visiting teacher as she has lived and worked in this high-type community.

These are the steps in the process of organizing cooperative effort:

1. A sketchy survey made in October 1929 revealed some sociological factors, such as percentages of parents of foreign birth or speaking a foreign language in the home, the crowded conditions of certain homes; the percentage of working mothers and the type of work being done. Such factors would influence any community program.

2. Following this, a survey was made by an outside organization and recommendations were made to large community groups with the result that possibilities for organizing existing agencies were discussed.

3. Finally, a plan was made for full-time welfare workers to meet for luncheon every other week. This group of ten or twelve had its first meeting in October 1930. Four school people comprising the child-guidance department were present—the school nurse, the vocational counselor, the school psychologist, and the visiting teacher. Integration of this group was slow. Each one had been doing his job alone, and the necessity of coordination was not felt by all.

4. The group received the first opportunity to function publicly when its chairman was appointed head of the Mayor's Social Service Committee as a part of the Emergency Relief program in the town. Most of the social workers group were appointed to the new committee along with a number of lay leaders interested in welfare. The first meeting was held December 1, 1932, and before long community conditions were receiving group action. Cooperation was more effective and results were more rapid. It was possible to illustrate by cases that the causes of many difficulties in personality or behavior in youth lay not so much in the youngsters themselves or in the family alone as in the social situation for which lacks in the community itself were responsible.

For instance: Claude, when a lad of thirteen, was referred to the visiting teacher because of failing work and a disagreeable atti-

tude when under correction. He was sullen and occasionally insolent and seemed to delight in making the teacher's life miserable. He bullied smaller children and was generally poor in conduct.

Investigation revealed a broken home with unstable parents. Claude had to live with relatives. The street was noisy and the boy was not getting the proper rest. After the family moved, Claude had more sleep and showed some improvement in school, although there was still trouble outside of school hours. Because he was only one of several who were having difficulties, the service clubs were urged to furnish a leader for a boys' club as an experiment in one district. They consented and arrangements were made for this leisure-time activity. Soon Claude was elected president and there was such a great improvement in his whole attitude that there was no further difficulty with him.

5. A Youth Council that aimed at coordinating the activities of young people and at preventing conflicts in clubs, etc., had been formed previous to the Social Service Committee but had been a feeble organization. In the winter of 1933, this was merged with the Committee and brought in representatives of the PTA's and some others not previously connected with the committee. The name was changed to the Social Service Council and continued to function as an active but loosely organized body.

6. In May or June 1933, a committee was named to investigate and determine the interest of local organizations in forming a Council of Social Agencies. The interest was revealed, a constitution was written, and on March 23, 1934, the formal organization meeting took place.

This Council adopted the following objectives:

To promote the social welfare of the City of Summit by

- a) Encouraging cooperation and community planning among the citizens through its civic, benevolent, and welfare organizations
- b) Developing teamwork among the various social agencies through cooperative planning and service

- c) Creating intelligent public opinion concerning social problems
- d) Encouraging social legislation
- e) Promoting high standards of economy and efficiency in all social-work agencies, individually and collectively
- f) Advising the undertaking of new work, further development or consolidation of existing agencies, or the formation of new agencies

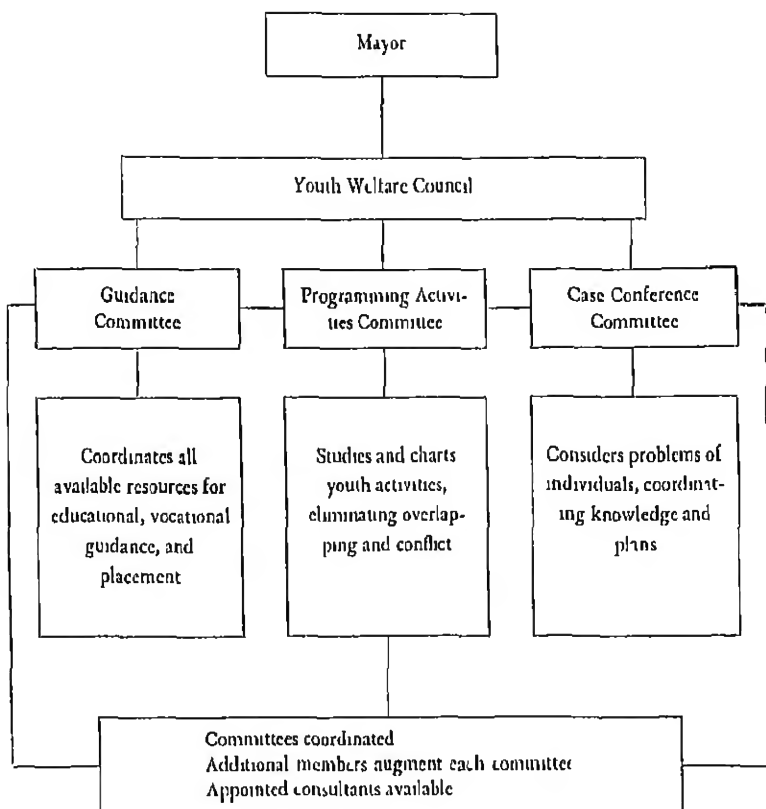
The formation of the Council of Social Agencies resulted in such activities as the following being carried on through its member agencies or other civic groups: a community Christmas, adult-education program, study of nationality groups, census of aliens, health survey, increase in recreation facilities and staff, survey of organization needs and facilities, nursery school, united campaign of seven member agencies, organization of the Mayor's Youth Welfare Council, study of housing problems, coöperation with the college club in study of child-welfare services, and a study of children's activities now under way.

7. The Youth Welfare Council mentioned above was organized in June 1936 by the Mayor as a small group with power to act on needs arising among the youth of the town. (Chart I).

There was an imperative need for intelligent concerted action. The unrest which is partly an aftermath of the depression affected the stability of children as well as their health. Figures gathered before the depression revealed that one in twenty persons spends some time in a mental hospital, not to mention those so affected by neurotic conditions as to be seriously handicapped in working efficiency. How much more, then, does preventive work need to be done now? Since there is such a scarcity of clinics and highly trained workers with psychiatric background, some other means of dealing intelligently with these problems had to be found. The importance of the school in this situation rises sharply, because the teachers are the only professional people seeing all the children of the community every day.

CHART I

YOUTH WELFARE COUNCIL Summit, N J



They, however, have been handicapped by lack of training in mental hygiene in their professional schools. Few have any training in social-casework procedure, especially in interviewing, which is perhaps the major activity that they have in common with the social worker in whose training skill in interviewing is a vital part.

Since the teachers and the social workers are concerned with the

same children and are working in the same general direction—building better citizens for a better society—it is amazing that in many places the two groups have gone their separate ways so long. The fault has probably been on both sides. However, the changing emphasis in education from “book learning” alone to social learnings challenges teachers. With a genuine interest in children and their problems, teachers can get acquainted with social workers who may have much material of value and many helpful suggestions as well.

Social workers, on the other hand, rebuffed by a few teachers with little social viewpoint, have often condemned the schools as a whole, when perhaps only good casework with the educators was indicated. This common ground, the child's development, would seem to be an imperative meeting place for intelligent people, because each is acting upon the child for good or ill and each needs to know what the other is doing and how, working together, each can do a better job for the child. All this seems so obvious, but in practice the relationship is often beclouded by misunderstandings or suspicions among the adults themselves so that the child and his needs are drowned in the gulf which lies between them. How these disasters are being avoided is shown in the following description of the Youth Welfare Council.

This body carries out the philosophy that casework with individual children is only partially effective if the community is not constructively filling the needs of those children outside of school hours. Such a philosophy requires, therefore, not only coöperation of casework agencies, but also of group work and religious agencies especially where these groups are actually doing casework with individuals along with their regular programs. In the small community there are not many caseworking agencies. Cooperation or coördination needs to be with *all* social agencies working with youth, and social casework needs a very broad interpretation. All have as their aim guiding youth into a fuller and richer life. Guid-

ance is a broad term that is too often limited in its meaning. To some it means educational guidance and vocational information in the secondary schools, but of what worth is guidance at that level if there has not been a consistent personal guidance throughout previous years? A recent study made by the American Banking Institute revealed that ninety per cent of those discharged from certain large corporations lost their jobs because of defects in personality such as carelessness or inability to get along with other people and only ten per cent because technically they were unable to do the work. This is a challenge to any group of thinking citizens in school or out. The plans to meet this challenge are shown in the purposes of the three committees appointed by the Youth Welfare Council.

GUIDANCE COMMITTEE

The committee on guidance should include representatives from the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., high school, junior high school, Boy and Girl Scouts, churches, neighborhood house, service clubs, and the college club.

The purpose and program shall be to furnish to young people, and agencies dealing with young people, educational, vocational, social, health, and placement guidance.

In accomplishing this purpose the committee will undertake to utilize the wealth of resources in local personalities, local special agencies, and governmental agencies. Findings on community needs shall be referred to the Council of Social Agencies and to the Mayor's Committee on Social Planning.

PROGRAM-ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The Committee on Program Activities should have as members representatives of all local organizations responsible for youth activities, for example religious, educational, recreational, and social groups.

The purpose of the committee shall be to study and chart all such

activities, making the chart available for general use, listing date, hour, place, nature, and age group, thus eliminating overlap and conflict.

This program, fully carried out, should enable those responsible for the programs to learn where there are lacks or excesses and to adjust and maintain a proper balance of varied activities for individuals.

Through a complete clearance of program activities, it should be possible to evaluate the present programs in relation to the needs of the community as a whole, the various neighborhoods, and the special groups

CASE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

The purpose of the Case Conference Committee is to consider the problems of individuals.

Group planning, it is believed, is the key method of effecting some solution of individual problems. The term "problem" should mean all factors affecting negatively the success and attitudes of any youngster.

This method may be contrary to the tradition that a good parent, a good teacher, a good minister, or a good policeman does his own job and should not need to ask help of others. But the situation in the world as it is today requires adjustments which even the parents of today's children did not have to make. It is not possible to bring children up isolated from the world around them, nor is it possible for any one agency, whether it be the family, the church, or the school, to do a good job of child training alone.

It is necessary for all agencies to work in harmony in order to help the child develop in a wholesome fashion, especially in areas that tend to breed delinquency. In such areas it is vital that *all* agencies of the community pool their knowledge and their resources in order that the best possible plans shall be made, tried, revamped if necessary, and carried through to a successful conclusion.

Membership consists of a small case committee consisting of those engaged in social casework, educational, recreational, and group work who are already concerned with individual problems, a consulting group from the religious, educational, medical, and legal fields whose knowledge of the individuals or special situations would be valuable in diagnosis or in the formulation of treatment plans; the chairman and secretary of the Youth Welfare Council to be ex officio members of the committee.

Carrying out the purpose of education to help a person to live wholesomely and effectively in the society in which he finds himself may often require the school to become society's agent. Chart II shows how this occurs in the present setup for youth welfare.

New projects requiring cooperative effort are suggested as needs are revealed. Each year the schools are concerned with the activities of their pupils as to club work; music, dancing, and other lessons, athletics; and work experiences. Here the overorganized child as well as the neglected or lone child is revealed and action that will lead to a better balanced life needs be taken.

For the past two years an inventory of maladjustments has been taken. This reveals certain undesirable traits such as unfriendliness, timidity, daydreaming, lying, stealing, bullying, etc. This early discovery of undesirable tendencies offers the best opportunity for prevention that we have yet discovered.

This year the results from the activity records are being used by the Recreation and Character Building Committee of the Council of Social Agencies to discover those children who seem to be in need of organized activities. The adjustment inventory is another way of reaching the same problems. The Program Activities Committee is making a study of needs from another angle.

The results of organized coordination are better understanding and growth in mutual respect as the work with individuals and their problems progresses.

The meetings are timesaving as the entire group is usually pres-

ent—each member who knows the case under discussion contributes his knowledge, the tentative plan is made, and all know which part of the plan each is to carry out. Until the group plan is tried, it is difficult to realize the time lost in calling various agencies, making appointments and calls one at a time. More than the time element is the information that comes from unexpected sources and the unusual turns which so affect the plans that the outcome could not possibly be foreseen. But perhaps the most effective result is in improved service to individuals because the knowledge of each is augmented by that of others. Of such is the following illustration.

One of the problems confronting the Case Conference Committee was that of an "epidemic" of stealing building materials and selling scraps to junkmen. What to do about the group of boys involved required further study before a decision could be made.

Investigation by those close to the boys revealed an interesting situation. Some workmen gave rather valuable material to children, and some adults were taking materials away. A junkman was buying material directly from the children, which was definitely against the law. On the other hand, the boys wanted some spending money. The playground activities were not filling their time full enough. If, however, these boys were sent to court they would be punished for the adults who were chiefly to blame.

The boys were divided among the various members of the committee who knew the families. These members began to work with the families of the boys to overcome the difficulty. As a result the parents began to realize their responsibilities in the situation. The junkman and certain workmen were warned by the police.

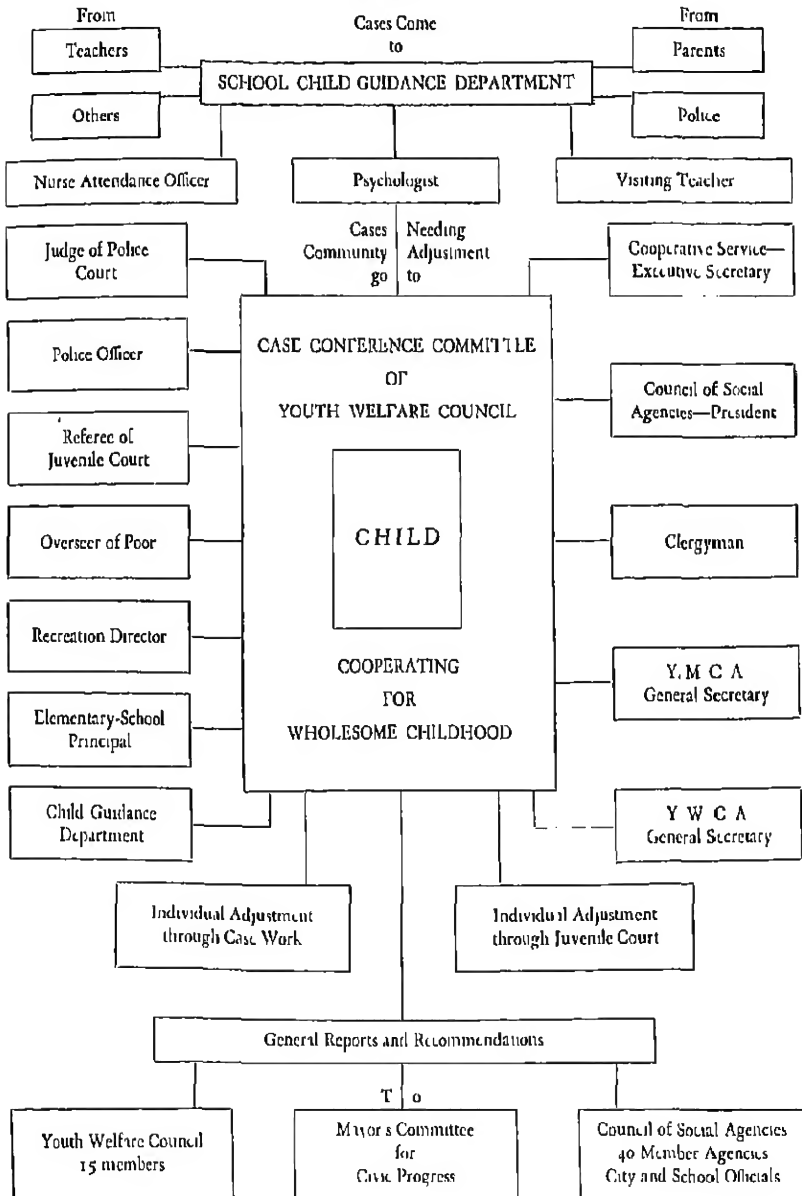
Definite plans with and for the children themselves resulted in more constructive activities and no repetition of the offenses.

Thus, the child's need for better understanding is not neglected, nor is the opportunity to render justice lost in this complete picturing of the child's life. Because of a better understanding of social casework, teachers try to meet an emergency in the child's life until

CHART II

PLAN OF COÖRDINATION FOR WELFARE OF THE INDIVIDUAL CHILD

Summit, N. J.



the social worker who may be in charge can handle the situation more completely but continue to coöperate with any new plan.

CONCLUSION

Real coöperation is possible when there is willingness to become acquainted in a friendly fashion. Thus may some of the difference in techniques be overcome in time.

On the one hand, the teacher has traditionally desired to uphold high standards of conduct and achievement which must be met within the limits of a report period or a school year. These behaviors and achievements must usually be reported in detail to parents and justified to a supervisor.

On the other hand, the social worker sees the whole family setting and wonders how the teacher can expect perfection in conduct from such an environment and why the teacher thinks results can come so quickly when the best the social worker can do with patience and casework techniques is to help human beings to progress at their own rate, which is sometimes exceedingly slow.

Through patience, tolerance, and a desire to serve children better there can and will develop in time a respect for the different understandings each can contribute. From the faith of a few will evolve new techniques of cooperation by contribution rather than the techniques of selfish competition for which there is no rightful place when the lives of children are at stake.

Administrators, too, would do well to learn from the field of social work that the best learning comes from living through a problem "the together way" and that new ideas and plans can neither be hurried nor forced.

Tolerance, patience, kindness, willingness to overcome the fears that often block progress, and an abiding faith in the possibilities of human beings—these are the qualities that operate in the making of treatment plans for happier children. Thus may these plans finally dovetail until a genuine integration takes place.

THE SCHOOL LIBRARIAN'S PLACE IN THE COMMUNITY

ETHEL M. HERRON

Librarian, Essex County Boys' Vocational School

In recent months the subject of the place of books in the guidance of youth has come to be discussed with great frequency among groups of adults: educators, librarians, and members of other social agencies who are interested in the many problems confronting young people.

The library has always been an agency where centralization of many community interests has taken place. Today librarians in every field of public- and school-library service realize the necessity for coördinating all social agencies so that wider and more vital activities may be included in its program. Formerly librarians were concerned with knowing books and making them available; today this function is still urgent, but with a changed world in which insurgent youth flocks to its doors, every member of the profession is concerned with knowing more about individuals.

The problem which faces the librarian is that which concerns the social workers, the public-health officers, attendance and probation attendants, parents, and juvenile court officials, to mention only a few of the agencies whose efforts are spent in serving and helping young people. The approach to an understanding of the problems of youth must be scientific and specific. The guidance of the young person who manifests overt or undesirable social behavior should be as varied and specific as the causes. Librarians believe, and devote their lives to carrying out the dictum, that the right book given to the right person at the right time is an untold force for good; but they shall continue to labor in their own lost world unless help is forthcoming from those who not only believe in the efficacy of right reading guidance, but understand all the many causes of misbehavior.

Causes of maladjustment are numerous and any individual is too complex for any single agency to classify, but all working together may be able to adjust a child to the point where good reading may become an effective remedial measure for behavior problems. The use of the proper books for this function should not be substituted for anything that a health program should rectify or a mental-hygiene clinic treat, but it is one means which may be used for preventive work.

School librarians are perhaps in a better position to help carry out a program of reading guidance with definite preventive possibilities than librarians in other fields, since they are associated with large groups of young people over an extended period of time. When we consider that children spend eight years in elementary schools, associating daily with school teachers and librarians, and that many of these same youths are later associated with us for two or more years of secondary education, it is astonishing to realize the lack of influence for good which any of us seems to exert in any vital way over the habits and lives of these same individuals. Where do we fail?

Do we fail because a librarian discovers an adolescent boy or girl reading salacious literature, but knows nothing of the home environment or recreational opportunities of the child outside of school? Is this failure followed by a more pertinent one, that of not knowing where to find the right social agency which could prevent adults from selling that kind of literature in any known neighborhood?

Do we fail because the school librarian, confined to duties within the four walls of her own library, fails to contact the proper agency of help when a boy or girl is found stealing or destroying books?

These are typical examples of misbehavior cases which every school librarian encounters in schools of every kind and grade in any city or town in our country. They are not confined to schools for boys or for girls, or to schools in any special environment, or schools of any particular grade of teaching: they are simple, univer-

sal misbehavior patterns encountered most frequently in school libraries.

We know that we do fail in our efforts to prevent such behavior because it is known that America has the highest rate of juvenile delinquency of any country in the world. At the present time we need a new program in school libraries to help us prevent such delinquencies.

Too often cases come to our attention after a boy or girl is beyond the jurisdiction of the school or has appeared in juvenile court.

The vocational schools are perhaps one of the most forceful agencies today in this program of preventive work in the community. Many social agencies find opportunities for coöperation and helpful understanding in the vocational school program.

All school librarians could do more, I believe, to integrate the valuable work of proper reading guidance with the program of other social agencies if a more thorough knowledge of existing agencies in every community could be obtained and a plan made to coordinate such agencies.

Should school librarians take the initiative in forming "community councils" or round-table groups composed of member representatives from all community agencies and extend the library and its resources more into the homes, churches, and recreational centers that in any way touch the lives of the school pupils?

Should library schools inaugurate a seminar at which representatives from every field of social service could acquaint future librarians with the work of social groups, and where librarians could make known their plans and resources for cooperating with all the social agencies in the community?

Unless some such suggestion is put into practical use all the lists of books for juvenile courts and all the divided efforts of librarians and social agencies will remain only half measures for solving the problems of youth in this complex world.

WHY NOT FINISH THE SCHOOL JOB?

M. J. FLETCHER

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On a trip to Florida some time ago I met a young salesman. He was evidently well educated and expressed interesting views on various subjects. From what he told me I inferred that he held a rather important position for a man of his years. Desirous of getting his reaction on the unemployment situation among young people I asked him what he thought the cause and the cure.

To my surprise he replied that he did not think there was any lack of jobs. The trouble, he said, is with the young people themselves. The rising standard of education for all boys and girls and the vocational-guidance programs now common in the schools make young people overparticular as to the kinds of work they are willing to do. In other words, vocational tastes have risen more rapidly than the supply of professional, skilled, or even semiskilled occupations which attract young people. And so it is necessary, as this young man thought, that the students in our schools be taught to realize that for a time at least after they leave school they must be willing to do almost any kind of work that may come along.

If the salesman's contention is true, and if the other contention so often heard—that the great advance in the invention and improvement of labor-saving machinery is constantly decreasing the number of jobs available—is also true, then the young people as they come from our junior and senior high schools are the victims of two forces, or conditions, each of which tends to limit their opportunities in life.

The problem is made still more acute by the fact that overcrowding of the higher professions is leading university administrators to raise admission requirements with the deliberate purpose of reducing the number who may study for professional degrees. This applies more and more, also, to normal schools and colleges. In this

way, and by maintaining placement bureaus, colleges and professional schools protect their graduates and to a certain extent at least assure them a fair chance in the race of life. On the contrary, the multitudes who trail along, dropping out of school here and there from the junior high to the middle college years, must meet the rough and tumble competition of the open labor market which as a rule is not held to any very strict account for its dealings with those who have only their labor to sell. While this general statement needs to be qualified somewhat, as we shall see, yet in the main it is true, as I believe will be generally admitted.

Volumes have been written regarding the causes of widespread unemployment—which begins to look like a permanent problem of giant proportions—and the many remedies proposed to meet the situation. It is not the purpose of this paper to defend or refute any of the arguments or suggestions presented in this nation-wide discussion. My purpose is simply to raise the question which forms the subject of this paper—Why not finish the school job?

During many years of service in the field of education, as teacher of the social studies, principal of high schools, and superintendent of schools, I heard and read many criticisms of the public schools, some fair and constructive, many unreasonable and foolish. Looking back over those years it seems to me the most important criticism that holds against the public schools and others of like grade—a criticism that has been seldom if ever adequately presented—is that the schools do not finish their job. That is, they do nothing, as a rule, to help the student make the sudden and difficult adjustment when he drops school to take up work and make his own way; and never, in view of social and economic conditions, does the boy or girl stand more in need of wise counsel and assistance.

Now for some qualifying statements. To begin with, the criticism in question applies chiefly to cities. In rural regions, for reasons clearly evident, the suggestions here presented have less application.

It is true, too, that some effort, particularly on the part of high

schools, has been made for many years past to secure positions for students leaving school. This effort has been chiefly to place those students who have taken commercial or industrial courses and are, therefore, prepared for the better positions.

It must be conceded also that in years gone by when commercial and industrial conditions were much simpler and the unemployment problem less acute young people leaving school were in less need of follow-up assistance.

Nor, in this connection, should the part-time school established in a number of the States be left out of account. The part-time school serves two purposes in this discussion. It shows that both educational and legislative authorities have recognized the need of some follow-up attention in the case of certain groups of students; and it has helped a good many boys and girls to find themselves and get established when they came to face the necessity of earning a living.

While we shall give full credit for all that has been done as outlined above, it is true that few if any communities in the United States have set up an adequate organization for proper assistance and guidance of its beginning wage earners.

With these qualifying statements out of the way, we may go on with the main argument: that both our young people and the community at large might greatly benefit if the schools would extend their help and their influence beyond the student's departure from classroom and study hall—that is, if the schools would finish their job.

This is not a proposition to add something entirely new to our already overcomplex community life, but rather to use more effectively the resources of our most firmly established and most truly American institution, the public schools. Any adequate presentation of the subject would carry this discussion beyond prescribed limits. A brief statement of the principles involved must suffice.

1. Each community needs to work out for itself a philosophy of its economic life.

In years gone by the American people have pretty well established their civil, political, religious, and educational rights. These are recognized in constitutional and statute law. Not so in the economic field. We are now engaged in a bitter struggle to determine and establish our economic rights as citizens. It is necessary, as this conflict of ideas progresses, that communities shall also work out for themselves the principles which are to guide their economic life, lest they wake up some day to find that through their eagerness to receive aid from State and Federal authorities they have surrendered the right to manage their own affairs. During the great depression, communities have sought and accepted, apparently with little thought of the ultimate consequences, more and more supervision of their local affairs by State and Federal authorities. Local self-government to the fullest extent possible—even at some loss of efficiency—is that “vital principle” for which Jefferson contended in the early days of our Republic, and to which we owe our political capacity as a self-governing people.

It may be said, too, with little room for argument that American communities have been more negligent in the matter of any organized effort to study and understand their economic needs and opportunities as applied to their people as a whole than in any other important field of united endeavors. It seems a truism that all that is humanly possible should be done by the community to take care of its own. Whatever tends to make a stable, intelligent, contented citizenship is of great importance; and there is ample reason for thinking that the schools in coöperation with other agencies could greatly further this object by extending sympathetic counsel and assistance to many of our youthful wage earners for a period of time—perhaps from one to three years—after they leave school.

2 Young people as they come from the schools represent a great financial investment of both the State and local government. For citizens to pay hard-earned dollars in taxes to educate our youth and then permit many of them to retrograde and become a social

menace rather than a help to the community, all for lack of some assistance and advice as they enter the wage-earning field, seems a shortsighted policy. The sum total of good citizenship will be none too great if every youngster possible is kept on the right track.

3. Rugged individualism is good for those who can take it; and we may well cherish the principle as an important factor in our democracy. However, failure to recognize that the race of life under our American system is a handicap contest and should be conducted with a view to giving those who are "born short" a fair chance to be successful in the use of such talents as they have is the cause of much of our present grief.

Who has not heard the successful, prosperous man say again and again, in substance, that he made his own way and every other man could do the same if he would make an honest effort? Our young salesman above quoted leaned toward the same argument. However, nothing is plainer than that such reasoning is twisted. This young man did not need any help, he could make his own way. The same is true, perhaps, of a majority of our American youth; but there are many, very many, who need some initial help and watchful attention for a while to fit them into the scheme of things and to give them confidence that they can look out for themselves.

4. New conditions require new methods. The CCC, the NYA, the thousands of youth who have "taken to the road" the last few years for lack of work in the home town—these together with rapidly changing conditions in industry and business would seem to make it imperative that every community of even small commercial and industrial interests should make a well-organized effort to meet the needs of young people whose preparation for a job has led them into a blind alley.

5. No other agency is so well equipped to take the lead in this matter as the schools. With a daily record over a period of years covering the student's abilities, aptitudes, character, and achieve-

ments, the school is in the logical position to bring prospective employer and applicant together.

6. If the above briefly presented contentions are valid, they lead to the logical conclusion that school authorities should seek the assistance of various agencies in the community in forming what we might call an economic or employment council to study the entire employment situation as it affects beginning wage earners.

In such an organization would be represented the schools, employers, and various civic and social groups. It would stand as a community-wide effort to establish beginning wage earners in the commercial and industrial life of their city, emphasizing the obligations resting upon the community to look after the economic welfare of its young people.

Plans and details of organization would differ for different communities, though the general features and purposes would be practically the same for all. Not only would such an organization under the management of a competent employed director be of benefit to employers and beginning wage earners alike, but it would furnish the school authorities with much desirable information on which to base their courses of study to meet the clerical, commercial, and industrial needs of the community.

It is easy for one to theorize on such matters and to allow his imagination to lead him beyond the reasonable and the practical; but present distressing unemployment conditions would seem to warrant a determined effort on the part of the schools to carry their work and their influence a little further in behalf of the beginning wage earners as they leave the schools.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology

SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND INFORMATION OF AMERICAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

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This inquiry is an extension of the survey findings on secondary teachers reported in chapter eight of *The Teacher and Society*.¹ It grew out of the expressed interest of many specialists in elementary education in seeing how "grade-school" teachers compared with high-school instructors in their knowledge of contemporary civilization and their orientation thereto.

Consequently, much the same measure had to be applied to both populations. Thirty-two new attitude statements, the dropping of the "Utopia" section, and a dozen or so more "personal data" items for testing possible correlates of the major variable studied were the chief differences in the total content of the questionnaire used by the elementary teachers as contrasted with that taken by their colleagues in the high schools. The new attitude items were validated by the method previously employed; *i.e.*, 90 per cent or more of a criterion group of eminent "liberals" had to agree in their answers to these propositions before the prevailing response could be taken as the "key" with which to score other papers.

Twenty thousand copies were distributed at "random" to school systems in every State of the Union; ten thousand were returned, giving a response ratio of almost exactly 50 per cent. About half the blanks went to communities of less than 5,000 population. Different geographical areas of each State were sampled in proportion to the teaching population. All replies were anonymous and every blank was returned in a

¹ First Yearbook of The John Dewey Society for the Study of Education and Culture

plain sealed envelope. Since it took the average respondent slightly more than an hour to complete the blank it is clear that a high degree of "personal participation" was secured. All tests were taken individually, *i.e.*, none were administered in group fashion, although the instructions were so communicated.

The basic hypothesis of the study was that the "progressive" teacher is characterized by a complex of desirable social and personal attributes, prominent among which are superior factual information about public issues and greater readiness to accept the full behavior-implications of democracy in its social, political, and economic aspects. This "liberalism" was also assumed to be positively associated with higher salary income, longer professional training, wider participation in community enterprises, and preference for Socialist or Democratic political creeds rather than Republican inclinations. Correlational analyses and "difference" techniques have been used to check this view.

One important question was answered by this survey, *viz.* Are elementary-school teachers more or less liberal than high-school instructors? Selection and other factors would argue for their greater conservatism, but the fact that progressive techniques have been more widely adopted on the elementary level seems evidence against this. The test results on *both* attitude and information favor the secondary teachers. The detailed graphic profiles for the two groups show the elementary curve slightly but consistently below the secondary. Where there are differences in favor of the elementary they seem to result from the fact that the elementary measure was given in 1937 while the secondary survey was made in 1936, during which interval certain issues, referred to in the test, were more publicized.

The distribution of opinion on the thirty-two new attitude propositions (for which no comparisons can be made) is given below. "A" means that liberals agree with the proposition; "D" that they disagree

Per cent marked A	Per cent marked D	Per cent omitted	Key	
55	35	10	A	105 Were I a Spaniard, I should be an active supporter of the Loyalist government during the present civil war in Spain.
91	8	1	D	106. There is a personal God or Divine Being who created this world
92	6	2	A	107. The "progressive-education" movement has contributed greatly to the improvement of the curricular content and teaching procedures of our schools
83	14	3	D	108. Every human being has an immortal soul that continues to live a separate existence after the body disintegrates.
11	88	1	D	109 Married women teachers are undesirable members of a school staff.
40	56	4	A	110 The human race evolved from other forms of life during the millions of years that this earth has existed, and is definitely related to other animals, particularly the anthropoid apes
9	89	2	A	111 Jesus Christ was a great man and ethical thinker like Socrates and Confucius, but it was an unfortunate historical outcome that he came to be worshipped as the Son of God
60	38	2	D	112. The sitdown type of strike is impossible to justify under any circumstances
36	63	1	A	113 Capital punishment should be abolished as an outmoded and useless way of treating criminal behavior.
25	74	1	D	114 The American Negro today has all the educational opportunity he deserves
2	97	1	D	115. The growing use of "current events" references in all school subjects is to be condemned.
92	7	1	A	116. The increasing emphasis upon "social problems" in general education is a gratifying sign

Per cent marked A	Per cent marked D	Per cent omitted	Key	
90	7	3	A	117. It is a commendable human effort to try to bring about peace through a world state or some international federation of cooperating commonwealths.
40	57	3	D	118 In voting it is always preferable to support the "lesser of two evils" if the candidate whom one really desires has no objective probability of winning.
84	14	2	D	119 Social changes should always be made by gradual evolutionary means and never by rapid revolutionary reorganization.
11	88	1	D	120 The "activity" program of instruction has done more harm than good to sound educational ideals.
97	1	2	A	121. Government should serve the interests of all classes of citizens and not of one class alone, whether that favored class be a small group at the top or a large mass at the bottom of the social scale
70	28	2	A	122 The highest duty of the educator is to promote creative experiences.
98	1	1	A	123 A stimulating environment and an atmosphere of encouragement should be guaranteed to every school child.
40	51	9	D	124. The Committee on Industrial Organization has done less to advance the welfare of the American working class than the regular officials of the American Federation of Labor.
65	34	1	A	125 School marks should be abolished with all the other paraphernalia of an antiquated, competitive, and artificial educational machine.
55	40	5	D	126 Any one who opposes the practice of "homogeneous grouping" is willfully disregarding the best scientific evidence in its support

Per cent marked A	Per cent marked D	Per cent omitted	Key	
69	30	1	D	127 Repeated drills on fundamentals should be much more widely used than is now the case.
7	88	5	A	128. An immediate replacement of capitalism by state socialism would benefit the inhabitants of this country.
98	1	1	A	129 The elementary school should be an integral part of community life
4	95	1	D	130. Guidance of children of elementary-school age can be performed adequately without a knowledge of the forces affecting the child out of school.
98	1	1	A	131 Elementary schools should be organized to fit the needs of children for whom they are intended
97	2	1	A	132 A teacher of elementary grades should maintain a democratic relationship with the pupils
40	58	2	D	133. A minor aim in character education in the elementary school is the development of children's ability to cooperate.
96	3	1	A	134 A teacher should be absolutely impartial in dealing with all children, regardless of their race, creed, economic status, or nationality
4	95	1	D	135 Teachers of elementary-school children have little need for a knowledge of socio-economic problems in dealing with their pupils
7	92	1	D	136. An elementary-school teacher must be a dictator with pupils from 5 to 14 years of age

BOOK REVIEWS

This New America, edited by ALFRED C. OLIVER, JR., AND HAROLD M. DUDLEY, with forewords by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and others. New York. Longmans, Green and Company, 1937, 188 pages.

This little book is no sentimental tirade for in it is presented a happy balance of what authorities and experts know of the purposes, program, and achievements of the Civilian Conservation Corps and what the youths themselves, for much of the material was written by them, think of this plan which offered them new hope.

Approximately two million jobless and disillusioned youths have seen service in the CCC, and from their own comments show the effects of a program which included employment, education, and facilities for orderly living.

This New America is an inspiring and interesting historical document which points to the contribution which the CCC has made in the conservation of the greatest natural resource of our nation—its youth. In achieving this fundamental objective the youths of the CCC also rendered valuable service to the country, saving and replanting forest lands, fighting forest fires and floods, and engaging in a vast program of soil conservation

Liberty vs. Equality, by WILLIAM F. RUSSELL. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 173 pages.

This very readable little volume is an earnest appeal for the middle course between the two irreconcilable tenants of our Democracy. Education is the means by which the author hopes to resolve the dilemma. Considering the extent and scope of the literature and the necessity of redirecting it to less than a hundred pages, the author has made an excellent summary of the growth of these two concepts through the American sources and their origins in England and France. After tracing the dominance of liberty in the early formulation of our government, he shows the growing importance of equality, with the public school, the focal point of the controversy, emerging triumphant

With an abounding, an almost blind faith in the efficacy of the public school, the author draws a Utopian picture of a land in which both

liberty and equality are achieved and concludes that "the passport to this happy land is a liberal education." Unfortunately, however, the author does not indicate the means by which vested interests may be barred from the public schools, nor the agencies through which teachers may acquire the superhuman wisdom to reconcile in practice two concepts reconcilable only in the Utopian web of social theory.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- How to Write a Movie*, by ARTHUR L. GALE. New York: Brick Row Book Shop, Incorporated.
- Kit Brandon*, by SHERWOOD ANDERSON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania*, by EMERSON H. LOUCKS. New York: Telegraph Press.
- Let's Stay Married*, by PERRY LAURENCE ROHRER. New York: Greenberg, Publisher.
- Mexico: A Revolution by Education*, by GEORGE I. SANCHEZ. New York: Viking Press.
- Mitla: Town of the Souls*, by ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Movie Parade, 1913-1936*, by PAUL ROTH. New York: Studio Publications, Incorporated.
- National Conference of Social Work, 1936*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Negro in the Philadelphia Press*, by GEORGE EATON SIMPSON. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- No Date Has Been Set for the Wedding*, by JANET FOWLER NELSON. Education for Marriage Series. New York: The Woman's Press.
- Nursery School and Parent Education in Soviet Russia*, by VERA FEDAEVSKY and PATTY SMITH HILL. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company.
- Nursing as a Profession*, by ESTHER LUCILE BROWN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Outline of Modern History*, Volumes I and II, by EDWARD MEAD EARLE and JOHN H. WUORINEN. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Pacific Area and Its Problems*, edited by DONALD R. NUGENT and REGINALD BELL. New York: American Council Institute of Pacific Relations.

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SOME NEW TRENDS IN HEALTH EDUCATION

PRESENT CONCEPTIONS OF EDUCATION AND HEALTH

Not so long ago it was urged that education was a preparation for life. In due time education came to mean life itself, but now it is called a way of life. Health education, then, "is a way of living which produces at each stage an important, wholesome type of living." Health habits, attitudes, and information must be acquired from purposeful, functional situations if they are to be effective. Education in general and health education in particular are concerned with the individual in his total development. They are bound up with all the home, school, and community situations to which the individual responds.

HEIGHT AND WEIGHT MEASUREMENT

In earlier days of health emphasis in education, great stress was placed upon height and weight. Educators were misled in their efforts by the popularity of central tendencies in educational measurement. When it became evident that much harm might arise from comparing all individuals with norms, there was a tendency to scrap the whole practice of weighing and measuring. In moving so far in that direction those interested in health education disregarded

some of the most important health motives. The child wants to grow and is delighted to know that he is achieving this purpose. By the new emphasis on height and weight the child is allowed to check his own behavior and is reminded of the things he has decided he wants to do. A child should know how much he has gained in height and weight during a significant period of time.

HEALTH EDUCATION FOR EDUCATORS

The health movement in education has been seriously retarded by the need for health education among school officials and teachers. Educators themselves have needed education in personal health as well as a clear understanding of their proper functions in promoting health in the school and community. It has occasionally been noted that the percentage of school attendance among teachers has been lower than that expected of children.

It is most gratifying that the need for health education among teachers is being met in all teacher-training institutions. The former physical-training teachers have broadened their functions to include physical education and health.

HEALTH EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

Dean Payne points out that achievement in health education has been fully realized among children. That emphasis will be continued in the light of new knowledge and improved practices. Most encouraging also is the movement to increase life expectancy among adults.

Persistent have been the efforts of society through education and legal measures to reduce the number of deaths and serious accidents on our highways. Until very recently, however, we heard little about venereal disease. Automobiles killed 1,107 and injured 26,185 people in New Jersey during 1936. Yet venereal disease caused 3,700 deaths and brought disability to 200,000 others during the same period.

With such facts in mind it is easy to understand why physicians, bacteriologists, nurses, and social workers throughout the United States are determined to apply against the disease the best procedures that science and experience have evolved. The battle is on in State and local departments of health, in cooperation with the United States Public Health Service, to conquer venereal disease.

THE PREVENTIVE MEDICAL PROGRAM

Another important trend is illustrated by the *Detroit plan* in which physicians participate actively in official public-health procedure. The ultimate objective of this plan has been to secure the sympathetic and wholehearted support of the medical profession, thus providing for both a curative and a preventive medical program. It is the growing belief that the proper course lies in the direction of making the practice of medicine contribute to health education. Eventually, it is hoped, the physician will be employed to keep people well rather than just to cure them after they become ill.

The immediate objectives of the *Detroit plan* as described by Dr Henry F. Vaughan,¹ Commissioner in the Department of Health, Detroit, Michigan, are: "(1) The protection of a high percentage of children between six months and ten years of age against diphtheria; (2) vaccination against smallpox; (3) periodic health examination; and (4) periodic dental examination."

IRA M. GAST

¹ *Advances in Health Education* (New York, American Child Health Association, 1934), page 179

THE SCHOOLS AND CHILD HEALTH

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In scanning the pages of history it would be difficult to find a chapter that is more dramatic than that relating to the public-health movement and the improvement of health conditions in the world, especially in the United States, during the past half century. A single example tells the story of this achievement. In 1901 the infant mortality rate in New York City was two hundred ten deaths in every one thousand births; for the year 1936 the number was fifty-five in a thousand; and for recent months the rate was around thirty. This is indicative of what has happened in the case of communicable disease which attacks all ages of the population. Public-health effort has to its credit the control of yellow fever, smallpox, typhoid, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and tuberculosis. Other diseases, if not under control, are vanishing. When we seek to discover the secret of this amazing achievement, we think of the heroes of science—Pasteur, Lister, Koch, Reed, Trudeau, Gorgas—all stars, and a host of lesser luminaries who have given their lives to the cause of human welfare. They are the immortals who have led the way and provided the means for the hundreds of public and private agencies that have carried out details of the program and relieved fear of the scourge of those dreaded diseases which were the nightmare of former generations.

Improvement of public health must be attributed in large measure to the development and application of science in the control of disease through the improvement of our water and food supply, removal of sources of infection, inoculation against disease, quarantine, and improved sanitation. The work has really been accomplished by a limited number of leaders who have been in a position to exercise control over boards of health, health officers, and others who have devoted themselves to human welfare.

Let us examine then the nature of this improvement in health conditions which makes the past fifty years stand out as a period of unprecedented achievement. The first point to be noted is the increased average length of life or life expectancy. This has been raised from approximately thirty-five years in 1880 to sixty years at present; twenty-five years have been added to the average length of life in a little more than half a century. The second point is the expectation of life at the older ages, *i.e.*, at the ages beyond sixty years. According to tables prepared by the Bureau of the Census, persons at the age of sixty-five may still expect to live twelve years; at seventy-five, seven and two-tenths years; and at eighty-five, four years. It is, therefore, apparent that this period is different from all other ages in that its mortality has not improved. As a matter of fact, this period of life has failed to retain the favorable position it occupied in the early part of the century. The greatest decline in mortality has been for the period of infancy. There has also been a marked decrease throughout adolescence and the early productive period. Moreover, the decrease of mortality has proceeded at a lesser rate during middle life, and has disappeared in the later period.

The significance of this situation is fairly obvious. Public-health efforts have been successful for those up to sixty years and unsuccessful for those older. Furthermore, success has been due to the control of those diseases rampant during productive years and not to the control of diseases incident to deterioration attendant upon declining years. The facts of health conditions at the various stages may be a matter of debate. There are those who contend that we are not concerned with the prolongation of life beyond the so-called productive years, but our assumption is that life has its particular value at each stage, and that the improvement of health conditions is equally important whether we are concerned with infancy or senescence, and this discussion is based upon that assumption. We will leave to the theorists the discussion of the relative social importance of the various ages.

Our purpose, therefore, is to indicate the reason for the success and failure of public-health efforts, and the part that education has played on the one hand and its particular problem on the other. We have already stated in part the reasons for improved health conditions in early life and the control of those factors responsible for communicable disease. These measures consist mainly in the provision for an adequate uncontaminated water supply; inoculation against diseases that may be controlled in this manner; safeguarding the food supply; improved housing conditions and sanitation; proper disposal of garbage; and, finally, segregation of active cases of tuberculosis. These various health measures have by no means been adequate. In many instances we still find conditions quite primitive. The problem at present is that of applying measures that have proved effective.

The failure of the health movement in the latter period of life is due to the fact that public-health measures have little or no application. Diseases common to later life result from organic deterioration caused by the mode of living. They are the result of maladjustment to a complex civilization. The strain and pressure of modern life, new problems of food selection and diet, and inadequate exercise and recreation all create situations which the individual has not learned to meet either through direct experience or through formal education. The problem of these deteriorative diseases is entirely different from that of communicable disease. In its vital aspect, the problem is one of individual hygiene, not merely for the declining years but for the whole of life, in contrast with communicable disease, which is a community problem. I am quite aware that all problems of health are, in a sense, community problems but the solution of one type may be found in community action, of the other in personal living. Both are problems of education, but in entirely different senses.

This preliminary discussion seems necessary to lead to our real problem; namely, the place of the school program in health im-

provement. The beginning of the health program in schools dates back to the nineteenth century and was introduced through the influence of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, itself concerned with the elimination of alcohol consumption. The procedure generally was to secure legislation requiring instruction in physiology, anatomy, and hygiene with special emphasis upon the evil effects of alcohol consumption. The program consisted mainly in learning facts inappropriate to the needs of children, and about the effects of alcohol on the human system, which, however, did not accord with science. The most significant thing about this early program is that it was a beginning of what later became the health program in the schools.

The failure to accomplish its avowed purposes led, toward the end of the century, to a more fundamental consideration of the whole problem of health needs. With investigations by Dr. Smedley on the health needs of school children in the city of Chicago, and his report to the Board of Education, we entered upon a new era of school health development; namely, the introduction of the doctor and later the school nurse. These, however, were concerned with disease and its elimination rather than with a constructive program of positive health development, while the instruction of children continued along lines of the original emphasis. Early in the twentieth century the child-study movement in education appeared in the ascendancy and educators thought they had discovered a new approach to education and a new emphasis in health instruction. They approached the problem indirectly by stories of health, leaving out all formal matter relating to physiology, anatomy, and hygiene. While this emphasis did not improve the specific health instruction, it rendered a more significant service by calling attention to the fact that health has to do with behavior and not the memorization of facts unrelated to children's needs. Thus a forward step was taken in the school health movement.

While this movement was under way the World War broke, with

its astonishing display of inadequate health instruction. Physical defects and weaknesses, which might have been prevented by an adequate school program, were obvious. New private health organizations appeared and older societies became interested in child-health programs. We had new plans for health instruction *ad nauseum*. The "Health Crusaders," the health fairy Cho-Cho, and the health clown were imposed upon the schools because educators had no program and were compelled by the astonishing revelations to do something about health. The inadequacy of the various programs proposed was clear to educators. Attempts were made to examine the whole problem of health in the schools from the point of view of the prevailing educational philosophy and the current needs so far as they had been discovered. This represents the beginning of the contemporary movement in school health.

The first of these fundamental attempts to provide an adequate health program was undertaken under the auspices of the Junior Red Cross which published its results in 1921. The following statement from the author's preface¹ explains the nature of the program.

This book is the second in a series which has for its purpose the organization of the subject matter of the curriculum with reference to specific social objectives. The first book of the series outlined a program of Education in Accident Prevention. This book attempts upon a much larger scale the presentation of a program in Health Education that will make the development of health habits, practices, and knowledge ideals and attitudes a matter of school routine. It does not anticipate the addition of a school subject nor does it leave the development of health to the branch of physical education and hygiene.

A plan is outlined through which each subject of the curriculum may contribute its appropriate part to the development of individual and social practices essential to healthful living. The plan of this series is a new departure in educational practice, but one entirely in harmony with educational theory. This series is a contribution to present educational development by people who are working in practical and theoretical fields and who are attempting to make education serve more effectively the needs of life.

¹ See E. George Payne, *Education in Health* (New York: Lyons and Carnahan, 1921), page 5.

In so far as the fundamental nature of the program of health instruction is concerned, this experiment represents the point of view of the health program as it appears in the schools today.

Since 1921 much thought has been given to the construction of health curricula and the determination of best health practices. Thus has developed a course of health instruction covering the school life of the child through the elementary and secondary schools. These programs take into account the interests, the psychological nature of the child, and his stage of development on the one hand, and the scientific material related to health practices—diet, exercise, recreation, sleep, etc.—on the other. It fails, however, to consider the necessity of discovering backgrounds of the group with which the instruction is concerned. In this particular lies the weakness of the health program in American education today.

The point of view emphasized here may be illustrated by any of the modern courses of study in health in any of our cities or States. One of the best of these published courses is that now in operation in the New York City schools. It covers the entire period of public education and takes into full account the biological and psychological nature of the child with his developing interests and abilities. Moreover, it incorporates within the program the scientific knowledge basic to human living in the twentieth century. Such a course of study would appear to represent the last word in the construction of a program for the education of children in the art of healthful living.

There is, however, a fundamental weakness in such a program, for in its operation it does not take into account the widely differing backgrounds and varying health needs. The difficulty lies in the fact that no program for a city such as New York, or any area, can make proper emphasis for all children in the area. The studies of mortality and morbidity in the Belleville-Yorkville and the Harlem districts display problems of health needs not evident elsewhere. A common program with similar emphasis is unwarranted and will

inevitably fail to meet the specific needs of the children in any particular area. The method of approach is wrong. Health depends upon proper living and a solution consists in the reconstruction of the habits, knowledges, and attitudes of a given group, school, or class with which education is concerned. Instruction hinges upon a definite knowledge of the health conditions and practices of the children and involves an adequate survey of their background. A survey is indispensable to any intelligent procedure in any school district or class.

Furthermore, as the specific health needs are discovered, the program of instruction must concern itself with the health practices of the adult population as well as with those of the children. We have long since realized that small progress will be made in changing the ways of living of children where no changes are made in their homes. Unchanged practices in the home will undo any effort on the part of the schools to effect better living practices in a community. This point of view conforms to what we have learned from the vast achievements in the improvement of healthful living in various parts of the world.

A single example of procedure is that of Rockefeller Foundation in the eradication and control of hookworm disease. In this instance no work was attempted until a survey displayed in every detail the causes of the infection in the particular area with which the program was concerned. There always followed a program of education that would effect a removal or control of the causes of the disease. Such has been the method, moreover, by which health conditions have been improved in the control of malaria, typhoid, infant ills, and other communicable diseases, and affords the basis of a plan essential to the improvement of health. It is amazing that with these concrete examples before them educators still approach the problem of health with a nineteenth-century technique and program, seemingly unconscious of what has been done and the methods by which it has been accomplished.

ALCOHOL IN THE HUMAN MACHINE

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In a nonfiction best seller the author states that the reason we know so little about ourselves is because under the natural conditions of life the human machine works satisfactorily. It was only consideration for others, a desire to relieve physical and mental suffering, that has led to the study of the normal as well as the diseased body. A modern poet has written some lines in merry mood which point out the inconsistency of our concern for the machines we buy, and our carefree ignorance of the mechanism of our own bodies. At the first "queer" noise, the machine is taken to a skillful garage-man to find the trouble. But for a headache or a pain elsewhere, we follow traditional or imitative behavior rather than be governed by independent thought and decisions based upon consideration of facts. This dependence upon what "they say" is largely responsible for the lack of understanding of the relation of alcoholic drinks to individual health and public welfare.

Dr. Haven Emerson says, "The actual and potential damage to human health from alcohol in the United States is greater than can be justly charged to any other commonly used drug substance, or to all of the so-called narcotic drugs combined, as they are availed of by the laity today." "But," say Mr., Mrs., and Miss Public, "alcohol gives energy for work, for play—it 'peps' you up for a good time." "And it's liquid food," adds young Bob, while Mrs. Public, recalling the many and various attractive advertisements, sums up, "It really is good for whatever is the matter with one."

Suppose, before downing their next cocktails, the Public family would devote independent thought to those cocktails, the base of which is gin or rye or bitters of high alcoholic content. If served in the proper cocktail glass containing one-half gill of liquid, each will contain much more than one-half ounce of absolute alcohol.

That is, two such cocktails would contain more alcohol than one large whiskey, much more than a pint of beer, and more than a half pint of claret. A brief consideration reminds one that that same alcohol (1) when applied to a grass stain or a grease spot will cause it to dissolve and disappear; (2) if spilled on the table top will remove the varnish; (3) when used in the laboratory will preserve specimens by absorbing the moisture from the tissues, so they will not decay. During the last fifty years this same ethyl alcohol has become indispensable in the chemical laboratory, where its uses are second only to water because it will dissolve what water will not, and because alcohol's affinity for water is so great that it absorbs water from substances containing it. So many and varied are the uses of alcohol because of these two actions that the story of its manufacture and application to thousands of utilities that enter into the fabric of commercial and social life is one of the great romances of modern industry.

But traditional and imitative emotional and social patterns displace independent thought when alcohol appears in beer, cocktails, or highballs to be taken into the human organism, where it comes into contact with delicate living tissue, a large part of which is water. When a hostess urged another cocktail upon a guest who turned to pour it into a flower pot beside him, the lady cried, "Don't put it there; it will kill the plant." "Queer," he mused, "but she wants me to drink it."

This effect is described by various figures of speech: Thomas A. Edison compared it to "sand in the engine"; a professional writer says it is like "putting salt sea water into the ship's boiler"; Dr. Charles Mayo told Hi-Y boys, "You can get along in the world with a wooden leg, but not with a wooden head." The effects of "too much" drink are known, but why these effects are caused is understood by comparatively few.

One must have first a mental picture that as a city is composed of houses in which active persons live, who perform all the varied duties and activities of community life, so the body is comprised of

organs composed of living particles. The body is the sum of its organs, made up of living cells, as the city is the sum of all the buildings which contain the living personalities.

All cells are fundamentally the same: (1) a thickly fluid substance very like egg white, called *protoplasm* (Greek, *first-form*); (2) embedded in this protoplasm is a firmer protein substance, the nucleus, (3) the nucleus and the surrounding protoplasm are enclosed with a covering, the cell membrane. The substances which make up the cell are those which we take in our food: albumen, protein; sugar material called carbohydrates; fat; water; salts; oxygen. Each cell is a bit of living matter which contracts, expands, absorbs food, and throws off waste.

Special emphasis must be placed on the fluid condition of the cells, for it is in that state that an easy movement of the cell molecules is possible, which promotes the constant change taking place in the building up and the breaking down. This constant change is called *metabolism* and is the difference between a living and a lifeless organism. When these actions cease, the body dies. The three parts of the cell have substances in common—water, oxygen, fatty or waxlike substances named *lipoids* (Greek, *fatlike*).

Alcohol taken in any drink passes quickly into the bloodstream. It is not acted upon by the digestive juices, but within a very few minutes of drinking, some is found in the blood, and within fifteen minutes its presence there has been detected by the effect on the nerves. The circulation bathes every cell almost two times a minute, carrying to it water, food, and oxygen, and collecting the wastes. Alcohol, carried directly to the cells, comes in contact with the lipoids in the cell membrane, the solution or disturbance of which admits the alcohol to the interior.

Scientific research has so far failed to determine just how alcohol interferes with cell activity, but there are at least four theories:

1. The dehydrating action on the protoplasm slows the process, due to loss of some of the precious water.
2. Lipoid is readily soluble in alcohol, a well-known property of

a number of materials, which benumb the nervous system. The disturbance of this substance lowers the activity of the molecules, causing a condition known as narcosis.

3. The salt fluids of the body are generators of fine currents of electricity. While water is a conductor, alcohol is a nonconductor.

4. Alcohol interferes with the oxygen needs of the cell. The accumulation of waste slows down cell activity, as ashes in the furnace interfere with proper performance. Such accumulation leads to fatigue, which finally results in exhaustion.

These four theories deal with four different substances—water, fat, electricity, oxygen. The one thing scientific investigation has shown is that alcohol in the blood creates definite disorder in a number of conditions necessary to cell activity.

Referring to the figures of speech used by Edison, Bastedo, Mayo. "Sand in the engine" may not stop the machinery, but will interfere with its running power, gradually injure the bearings, and finally secure a place in the junk heap; salt sea water in the ship's boiler may produce steam in an emergency but will eventually corrode the metal and produce an explosion, a "wooden" head may cause the whole human machine to run amuck because of lack of judgment. But what may alcohol do in the human machine during the minutes, months, or years which intervene before the junk heap, the explosion, or the final crash?

A comprehensive statement is made by a specialist in the symptoms, causes, and nature of diseases: "No other poison causes so many deaths, or leads to or intensifies so many diseases, both mental and physical, as does alcohol in the various forms in which it is taken." Medical writers class alcohol as one of four health scourges of civilization, the other three being cancer, tuberculosis, and venereal disease. Social workers say alcohol "makes the bed for tuberculosis"; studies show it is closely related to venereal infection; it is the sole cause of alcoholism, which does not mean drunkenness, but the effects upon users who may never have been drunk, but whose deaths resulted from alcohol.

Since the anatomically highest and last developed parts of the brain are weakened and suspended first, the functions of these parts are affected first and by a small amount in the blood. We shall consider the relation of alcohol to mental and physical health in this order, from the above downward, and from smaller to greater amounts.

Health is defined as a state of being whole in body, mind, and soul—free from pain or disease. The word disease is significant; the normal adult in perfect condition is at ease with a temperature at 98.6 degrees. If the temperature varies by so much as one-half degree—up to 99, “feverish”; down to 98, “chilly”—it is indication of some disease, a symptom something somewhere is wrong. This unnatural “feeling” is comparable to the “queer” noise in a mechanical engine.

Chemical analyses show that because the brain cells are especially rich in fatty substances it takes up larger amounts of alcohol, ether, and chloroform. Also, brain cells are as much as eighty per cent water. Recalling the action of alcohol on fats and its affinity for water, one sees why the drinker’s head machinery is out of order (thinking) before his feet machinery (staggering).

Man’s behavior, unlike the lower animal’s, is not governed by instinct which, as a matter of protection, prevents it from eating or drinking anything strange. Man’s power of judgment and self-control are given to protect him from unlimited indulgence, imitation, ambition, or originality. The action of small amounts of alcohol upon these highly organized cells impairs first the inhibitions—the power to “hold in.” With these controls impaired, the behavior is left to the direction of animal emotions and impulses, but without the control of instincts provided for protection. The condition of the human machine is like that of the auto on the highway when the driver at the wheel suffers heart failure; both machines are operating without intelligence. In 1936, there were 38,500 fatal highway accidents with at least one million persons injured. A study made in 1935 showed that in 60 per cent of the fatal cases

a glass or two of beer had been drunk an hour before, and then—sudden death

Just now the country is in the midst of a campaign to stamp out venereal disease. The number of persons infected is variously estimated from one to seven million. But it is known from those victims who seek medical treatment that from 76 to 90 per cent became infected after a glass or two, when judgment and caution were impaired and the sex impulse controlled behavior

The British Minister of Health in 1926 said, "If we are to rear and maintain a healthy race, we must first deal with alcoholism, venereal disease, and mental deficiency. Alcohol is the ally and handmaiden of venereal disease. The two go hand in hand. When alcohol is wedded to venereal disease the offspring is feeble-mindedness."

The continued use of small amounts—as in two bottles of beer, a couple of cocktails, or a highball—tends to the use of amounts increasing both in size and frequency, for alcohol like other narcotics creates a craving for itself. As the body builds up a protection, the drinker finds the amounts heretofore taken do not bring the feeling of carelessness and general well-being, and the habit of taking more is formed. "But," says the Beginning Drinker, "I feel so much better, so rested, so ready for anything." The error is in that word "feel": the drinker feels, not better, but *less* of whatever sensation was uppermost—and for the time being is an altered individual in an unreal world, for all the senses render inaccurate reports. The mind temporarily lacks its normal factor of judgment and conspicuous elements of its self-control.

"But," argues the beginner, "is it not worth-while at the end of the workday to shed the reality of care and weariness and enter into the unreality for rest and change?" If it were not for those two actions of alcohol, that might be so. But these actions leave permanent effects upon the cell structure. In the body cells the injured tissue is replaced by connective scar tissue, but injured brain cells are not so repaired.

After the nervous system, the cells of the digestive organs are most susceptible. The use of rubbing alcohol to harden the skin to prevent bedsores is common knowledge. It may be said that alcohol in a glass of beer or a cocktail gives the digestive tract an "alcohol bath." The action of alcohol upon the mucus of the mouth, gullet, stomach, liver, pancreas, kidneys, walls of blood vessels, the plasma and blood corpuscles is always the same, in direct relation to the amount of alcohol in the circulation. A little alcohol is a little injury; *more* alcohol is *more* injury; MUCH alcohol is MUCH injury, but no alcohol is no injury.

"But," say the Public Family, "wines and cocktails aid digestion." Sorry, friends, but no test observed in animals or humans has shown that alcohol speeded up the digestive process. The numbing of the nerves prevents any *feeling* of discomfort.

Since alcohol causes no particular disease but affects the organ with cells least resistant to its action, the results of drinking are many and varied. The action is always the same but the manifestations are *different*; conditions develop not unlike those caused by "sand in the engine" or sea water in the ship's boiler. When the Creator gave to man this human machine, so wonderfully and marvelously made that it anticipates every possible need, to be directed and controlled not by instinct, so that it *cannot* go wrong, but by intelligence, to adjust itself continually to new and ever-changing conditions, He endowed it at every point with powers of self-protection, to repair injury, and of recovery to a very great degree.

Perhaps the most marvelous of these are the white blood corpuscles, the enemies of body enemies. But these protectors themselves are susceptible to alcohol, and thus the drinker is more susceptible to infections than the nondrinker, allowing germs to multiply in the system, and at the same time retarding or preventing recovery from accidents, wounds, chronic and acute diseases. The best proof of this is in the tables of insurance companies whose business it is from a purely commercial standpoint to know which are the persons on whom they may place money. Their records exclude heavy

drinkers. We find three groups recognized: (1) those who said they took not more than two glasses of beer or one whisky a day at time of insurance; (2) those who had been drinkers to any degree but were not drinking at time of insurance; (3) more than those who said they took more than two glasses of beer or one of whisky a day but regarded as *temperate*. Placing the average death rate among all insured lives at 100, we find group one had 118 deaths, nearly one fifth more than average; group two had 165 deaths, one half more than average; group three had 186 deaths, nearly double the average. "But," says Bob Public, "look at Mr. X, he lived to be ninety-nine years old and he drank 'whisky all his life'" Well, do you remember if he ever did anything else? Now, recall men who drank moderately and died suddenly in their forties from pneumonia, an operation, heart condition. Reread the statements by Dr. Emerson and Dr. Bogen. Dr. Emerson adds to what he says about human health, "Alcohol causes a considerable number of deaths, about twice as many as are reported as due to alcohol." A conclusion cannot be formed from one instance.

"Well!" cry Mr. and Mrs. Public, "then why do people drink?" There are several obvious reasons: (1) because other people do; (2) because other people ask them to; (3) because of the opportunities; (4) because of attractive advertising

"But," says Mrs. Public, "those are not good reasons for lowering one's resistance to infection, delaying recovery from disease and accident, and shortening life expectancy and even impairing bodily and mental activity Why, if people *knew*—" Yes, Mrs. Public, that is just the reason. People do not know what alcohol is and does Many will not believe there is alcohol in beer and wine. They do not know its action on the higher functions of the brain, they despise those drinkers as "weak" who continue to drink after it becomes evident that drink is injuring them mentally and physically. "Look at me," they say, "I can drink or let it alone" When we do look at them, we see that they always drink, and never, or seldom, let it alone.

"Look at me," says another, "I drink only now and then." If we look, we discover they drink more *now* than they did then. "Then," say Bob and Miss Public, "we should not drink at all. But how can we refuse without offending our hostess?" Emily Post says, "Smile and say, 'No, thank you,' or 'I do not take it' " In a short time your friends will provide for you the equally colorful orange or tomato juice. If there is a tendency to "razz" your stand, you may want to quote the young college man, "I haven't any more brains than I need, and I want to keep all I have."

What is the relation of alcohol to the human machine? Edison coined a good figure of speech! It is indeed like sand in the engine.

HEALTH EDUCATION AMONG NEGROES

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Health may be defined as the quality of life that renders the individual fit to live most and serve best.¹ Its principle involves keeping the body and mind at the highest levels in order to give and take the best that life has to offer. Generally speaking, a sanitary system of living is the first and most important prerequisite for good health.

Studies in health problems of the Negro should involve a consideration of the social and geographic conditions under which he lives. Poverty, poor housing, lack of medical care, along with prejudice and ignorance, account in a large measure for the health plight of the Negro. It is a well-known fact that the great mass of the Negro population is still concentrated in the rural sections of the South where even the barest necessities are extremely difficult for him to obtain.

HEALTH PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO

The special health problems of the Negro are found in cases of tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and infant mortality. The causes of most of these diseases may be traced back to either ignorance or poverty. Careful investigations and intensive study have exploded the one-time theory that the Negro race is essentially a physically weak one. A statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has concluded that:

The Negro death rates for practically all diseases in the prevention or cure of which care and sanitation are of paramount importance are much higher than among the whites, but this does not prove that the Negroes

¹ J. R. Williams, *Personal Hygiene Applied* (Philadelphia W. B. Saunders and Company, 1926), page 18

are inherently more susceptible to such diseases. It is probable that their high death rate is due more than anything else to poverty and lack of medical care.²

Many other research problems have revealed similar facts. The work that has already been done in the field of health education for Negroes is invaluable and cannot be overestimated. If the health status of the Negro could be raised to the same level as that of the white race one of the major race problems would be solved. But in order that such a possibility may become a reality the social and economic standards of the Negro must be greatly improved.

Perhaps the best index we have of the health status of any race is the infant mortality rate. It has been ascertained for many years that the infant mortality rate of Negro children is excessively high when compared with that of the whites. No doubt this high rate can be directly attributed to the illiteracy of the parent, the lack of prenatal and postnatal care, and the absence of proper medical care during the crucial stage of pregnancy. According to reports of State departments of health in the Southern States:

Fewer than one third of the Negro births are attended by physicians, the other two thirds or more being attended by midwives or have no attendance.³

As long as such conditions continue to exist, just so long will the infant mortality rate of the Negro race remain excessively high. Health education is the only solution to such a problem as this. Parents must be taught the importance of prenatal and postnatal care. They must be shown the fallacy of the superstitious belief that it is good luck to be attended by a midwife during pregnancy. Even in sections where clinics are available proper medical advice is often disregarded because of this belief.

² Louis I. Dublin, "The Health of the Negro," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 140 (November 1928), pages 77-84.

³ *Child Health Problems* (Nashville: Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1924).

The tuberculosis death rate is another indication of the health status of the Negro. It is a known fact that tuberculosis is a disease that attacks the impoverished classes of society. Figures in 1930 showed that the tuberculosis death rate of Negro children in the lower elementary grades was five times higher than that of the white group. From the ages of 10 to 14 they reached the alarming proportion of nine times greater than the whites of this same group. Of great significance was the fact that Negro girls of college age in 1930 exhibited the highest rate on record, 398 1. The rate of Negro girls of junior-high-school age was greater than that of the boys in the same category.⁴

In 1928 Dr. Eldridge of the Tennessee Department of Health reported that the death rate from tuberculosis among Negro children in that State was ten times greater than that of the whites. The rate of 270 3 was most unfavorable when compared with the rate of 94 4 for whites.⁵ Since that time, however, a program has been in progress to correct this high differential in this State. This is true not only in the State of Tennessee but other States as well. It is necessary for the welfare of the nation that this high tuberculosis death rate among Negroes should be checked, because it is a menace not only to the Negro whom it ravishes but also to the whites who must dwell in its presence. Negroes who are employed by white families and otherwise transmit the disease to the whites. It has been estimated that about twenty-five per cent of all tuberculosis deaths in the United States occur among Negroes.

Venereal disease is a third cause of the high death rate among Negroes, and whites as well. One reviewer of social diseases says that:

In the United States there are well over a half million new cases of syphilis and over one million new cases of gonorrhea annually. These figures are a challenge to every one, both as to cause and prevention.

⁴ *Child Health Problems.*

⁵ *Ibid*

Up to 1928 there had appeared in the literature a large number of guesses and personal impressions as to the incidence of venereal diseases, but more especially of syphilis, in the Negro . . . The conservative conclusions were that syphilis was from one and one half to three times more frequent among Negroes than among whites.⁶

These social diseases are transferable mainly through sexual intercourse; and the most likely reason why more Negroes die from them than whites is that the latter seek medical care in the early stages of the disease more often than do the Negroes. In many instances insufficient income is the reason for this lack of medical care; in others, ignorance. Sometimes the disease reaches a chronic state before the person is aware of the fact that he is affected.

Health education alone can greatly change but it cannot greatly lower the high death rate among Negroes which is caused by these diseases. The low economic status of the Negro race in general must now and always be recognized as a handicap to its health conditions. However, for those who are financially able to follow its teachings, health education is a sure means of salvation.

THE FAMILY

In order to get at the root of the health problems of the Negro it is necessary to consider carefully the home. In the first place, overcrowded housing conditions are lamentable. If the Negroes live in the rural sections of the South, and the majority of them do, they live in shacks with no sanitary accommodations whatever. Their diet consists mostly of salt pork, corn bread, and syrup or sorghum. Vegetables are seldom eaten. Milk is sometimes used but only a few have cows. Many of the houses are built without windows, with no supply of water near by, and no provisions for bathing or light. Such dwellings make a dreary, unhealthy setting for children. The overcrowded conditions leave no room for privacy

⁶ H. H. Hazen, "A Leading Cause of Death Among Negroes," *The Journal of Negro Education*, VI 3, 1937

or pride or any sense of honor. Morals are almost unknown; therefore the unmarried mother is a common spectacle. For the most part midwives are employed at childbirth, rendering unscientific medical care that is the cause of many unhealthy, deformed children

The absence of adequate medical and health services to Negro families may be attributed to an utter lack of proper education to see and appreciate such services, and the low economic status of Negro communities, particularly the farm districts which offer no inducement to the private practitioner to spend his time in caring for the underprivileged. As a result, there is insufficient cooperation from medical men, nurses, and health and social workers who should bring the knowledge of health and good living to these communities. Until we set up a program for the expansion of medical services to these backward sections, the help which they should obtain will always be lacking.

When the Negro leaves the rural sections of the South and migrates to the North he is still faced with the problem of housing his family. Because he is unable to earn anything but a low wage he is forced to live in overcrowded sections where rent is cheap. If the house seems roomy the family is more than apt to take in boarders in order to increase the income. Children have no yards in which to play and enjoy the healthy outdoor exercise that is so necessary for their proper development. Morality has no better chance here than in the one-room cabin in the South.

The health program for Negroes calls for protection against all forms of transmittable diseases for all members of the family. It is practical and wise to expend the means for this protection. Sanitation, medical care, public-health services, slum clearance, adequate educational facilities, economic and social welfare, a positive planning for the control of venereal diseases, the liquidation of prostitution will all assist immeasurably in the improvement of health conditions of Negro families.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The legislatures of the Southern States have passed laws or acts providing for health and physical education of pupils in the common State and other public schools. These laws are aimed to secure cooperation between the education and health authorities of the State and usually describe the methods to be used in carrying these provisions into effect. A study of these reveals that general objectives of health education as prescribed for the common schools in the Southern States consist of the following:

1. Protection of the individual and community health
2. Promotion of the health and physical fitness of the individual
3. To safeguard not only the individual's physical fitness but that of his associates as well
4. To develop the health of the individual so that his physical and mental abilities may be used to the best advantage
5. To teach the reasons for ventilation, proper heating and lighting, sanitation, and for physical instruction
6. To develop right tastes and sound judgment in such matters as food, clothing, shelter, and exercise
7. To make health practices habitual

Numerous methods and devices are to be used in order to obtain the best results from the program of health instruction. Projects, songs, dramatizations, poster making, charts, games, health plays, health scrapbooks, health clubs, socialized recitations, health bulletins, experiments, field work, and the question box are some of the many devices recommended by the departments of education in bringing knowledge of health and healthful living to the students and parents.

A study of the prospectus of some departments revealed correlations with such subjects as art, geography, history, citizenship, spelling, manual training, agriculture, and penmanship. Some departments have established well-organized means of measuring the results of health teaching. Thus, we notice the recommended use

of standardized tests, health records, score cards, vegetable charts, etc. To a large extent the work of health and physical education in the public schools may be divided into three aspects and each attacked from these viewpoints:

1. Physiological health, which attempts to control proper growth in height, weight, structural and functional development, and which strives for the efficiency of muscular, nervous, mental, emotional, glandular, nutritional, circulatory, respiratory, and reproductive functions

2. Mental health, which seeks to develop the right emotional qualities, such as happiness, cheer, courage

3. Social health, which attempts to instill a new attitude in informing students accurately and scientifically about the facts of human life and human relationships

It may be seen from this survey that the physical-education and health-education programs are well conceived and thoroughly planned. The States have not failed in formulating a clearly defined plan of health education. The failure lies rather in the development of agents, agencies, and means necessary to put these well-conceived ideas into effect. Dr. Paul R. Mort⁷ shows that for the year 1930 there was an average expenditure per pupil of \$32.42 in eleven Southern States, but if considered racially, the average expenditure per pupil for whites is \$44.31, while for Negroes it is only \$12.57. In South Carolina the per capita expenditure for white children for the period 1900 to 1930 was four times that for Negroes.

These inequalities in the distribution of school funds may also be observed in the expenditure for schoolteachers' salaries. From Dr. Mort's study we also learn that in 1930 the annual average salary paid Negro teachers was \$423.00, while the whites received \$901.00. It may be further observed that the amount of money invested in school property in fifteen Southern States was \$1,086,842,000, or \$123.00 per pupil enrolled. While the average invest-

⁷ Paul R. Mort, *State Support for Public Education*, United States Office of Education

ment in plants and equipment for each white pupil was \$157.00, for the Negro pupil it stood as low as \$37.00.^a With such meager opportunities it is no wonder that we find the agencies unable to carry forward any well-conceived plan.

The Negro public schools in the South are hopelessly and inadequately equipped. Like the homes, the school buildings are usually too small and overcrowded. Ventilation is very poor for the most part, and there are seldom any provisions for hot lunches at noon. Most of the public-school buildings are dirty and the grounds uncultivated. There are usually no locker rooms or any sanitary place for wraps to be kept. With such conditions it can readily be seen that the schools have no means of executing a program of health education. Into such schools come hundreds of children, poor and wretched, seeking enlightenment in this the only place where they may find it. Many do not even realize that they are being deprived of the rights of citizenship when they enter these public schools which make no provision for health education, although both health and physical education are a recognized part of the curriculum offerings approved by the State for both white and Negro schools.

In many municipalities new, sanitary school buildings have been constructed, but lack of funds has prevented the completion of most of them. Notable examples of such conditions are to be found in many of the large urban centers where excessive overcrowding has led to unsanitary health conditions which seriously impair the health and moral standards of the students. In many instances rooms which were designed for sanitary accommodations have been utilized for classrooms, and the lack of janitorial services sufficient to keep the buildings clean and sanitary has been felt.

A definite program of health education for Negro public schools must involve more than the provision for such in the curriculum. In the matter of health education the laws themselves are of no

^a *State Support for Public Education*

value unless they are put into execution, and until such time Negro communities will continue to present the highest morbidity and mortality rates.

COLLEGES

In *The Journal of Negro Education* for July 1937, Professor Paul B. Cornely of Howard University shows that little hope for health education might be expected for students who graduate from public schools and enter Negro colleges. His study reveals the fact that health education in the Negro college is in a deplorable condition. Confusion in administration, inadequacy of personnel, equipment, and procedure are noted in the teaching of hygiene, sanitary supervision, and health services. His facts forcefully show that health services are inadequate both in extent and scope. He attributes these inadequacies to one or all of the following factors.

- 1 The apparent lethargy of many college presidents in matters pertaining to the health of their students
- 2 The lack of an adequately trained personnel
- 3 The lack of coordination of available facilities

A soundly constructed and well-executed program of health education in every Negro college would be invaluable to the Negro race. Because graduates of these institutions constitute an influential group, if they are made health conscious it may be assumed that they will in turn influence their families and the communities where they will be employed as instructors.⁹

CONCLUSION

If for reasons that have been presented and discussed here the Negro cannot obtain training in the ways of healthful and sanitary living in neither his home, the public school, nor the college, where-in lies his hope for decreasing his mortality rate? It is true that there

⁹ Paul B. Cornely, "Health Education Programs in Negro Colleges," *The Journal of Negro Education*, VI, 3, 1937

are some social agencies that are adequately equipped to render public health services to the Negro, but for the most part these agencies are located in the north and eastern sections of the United States and not in the South where they are most needed and could do the greatest service. The same is true of clinics and hospitals.

Health education among Negroes is a very necessary and important factor in their development. No man can render his best service to humanity if he is infected with disease, and no man can ward off disease unless he is properly fed, clothed, and sheltered. One authority has truly said:

The problems of the Negro are not his alone. They belong to the whole population. There is no possibility of isolating either the Negro or his diseases.¹⁰

In view of this fact the problem of health education among Negroes is the problem of a nation of which this race is only a part.

The National Conference on Fundamental Problems in Negro Education, held in Washington in 1934, summarized the need of health education among Negroes as follows:

1. A conscious awakening on the part of Negroes themselves to the need for correct health habits
2. The clearance of slum sections in cities and malaria-infested districts in rural areas
3. An equitable share of financial support and service in health problems
4. Effective health education, with emphasis on health habits to be taught in every school
5. The provision for more modern schoolhouses with adequate financial support and service in health problems
6. The provision for integrated health courses compulsory for all teachers
7. Facilities for the training of nurses and internes and for the treatment of Negro patients

¹⁰ Ray L. Wilbur, "The Health Status and Health Education Among Negroes in the United States: A Critical Summary," *The Journal of Negro Education*, VI, 3, 1937

8. The employment of more Negro doctors and public-health nurses on official staffs of schools, counties, and cities

9. Continued experiments and demonstrations in control and prevention of communicable diseases

10. The functional coordination of official and nonofficial agencies—national, State, and local—in projecting intensive and extensive programs for the well-being of Negro children

The adequacy of such well-formulated plans cannot fail to be recognized. If these theories were put into constant practice the results would be an inevitable lowering of the death rate among Negroes. This would lead to a practical emancipation in each sanitary area of this social democracy, embracing all races and classes of the population in its welfare program. The problem of race adjustment by health education is not sectional, for the Negro is associated with other races. The problem of health education among Negroes is like all of his problems; it is fundamentally an inter-racial question and must be recognized by both races if all elements of the population are to be brought up to the American norm

THE NURSE EXAMINES THE SCHOOL HEALTH PROGRAM IN ITS SOCIAL SETTING

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The cultural level of a society can be measured by the provisions it makes for the health and welfare of its children. If the children in a social group are neglected or abused or if they are required to begin work as soon as they have the strength and ability to do so, such a society is regarded by most observers as low in the scale of cultural development. A society, on the other hand, which sets a high value on children and places their physical and mental development among its first objectives would be considered by most students as having attained an advanced stage on the cultural scale. *We of the present generation condemn those societies of the past which permitted children to do drudgery in factories and mines, as future generations will undoubtedly condemn those of our contemporary societies which exploit the bodies and minds of their children.* An enlightened society will recognize in each of its child members a growing, changing, and developing individual, whose right to an opportunity for these dynamic processes to unfold to their maximum extent and variety must be fully guaranteed. Such a society will understand that its own growth and stability are synonymous with the growth and development of its young members. It will also realize that the curbing of individual growth or the setting up of artificial limits to the development of the individual is the direct path to social decay and extinction. The developing human personality is the most powerful force ever evolved. No society or social order which thwarts or retards the onward thrust of this force can long endure. Wise social leaders, discerning the direction which this force is taking, fashion and guide their social programs accordingly.

Two concepts should permeate the thinking of the student who is concerned with the health problems of childhood and youth. The first of these concepts is *variability*. While nearly every person accepts the truth of the statement that there are no two individuals exactly alike, few students of social problems are fully aware of the implications of this statement. The recognition of variability means that the variety which is encountered among the individuals in a social group should characterize every phase of the life of the social group: educational objectives and procedures; emotional and personality development; physical health, development, and welfare, vocational adjustment and preparation, ultimate social participation and responsibility. Unfortunately, it is easier to recognize individual differences or variability in words than in practice. As a result, our actual educational and social programs lag far behind our educational and social thinking. It must be conceded, however, that to an increasing extent social programs are embodying the principle of variability.

The second concept which the student should keep in mind is the fact that *the individual grows and develops in a social medium*. This is to say the health problems of childhood and youth with which we are concerned here are not to be regarded as problems of the individual child or youth, to be attacked and solved in terms of individual adjustment. These problems concern the social group of which the individual is a member, and they are to be attacked and solved in terms of social readjustment. All the desirable qualities and attributes in children and youths for which parents, teachers, nurses, social workers, physicians, and others are working should be regarded primarily as qualities and attributes of the society of which the children and youths are members. The physical, mental, and social characteristics of a child are the embodiment of the physical, mental, and social characteristics of his social group. Undernourishment, emotional instability, juvenile delinquency, as they appear in individuals, are symptoms of social maladjustments.

GOOD HEALTH AND ATTEMPTS TO MEASURE IT

Because of its obvious importance as the basis for all of life's activities, many attempts have been made to measure good health. By combining measurements of the individual such as height, weight, lung capacity, blood pressure, heart rate, muscular strength and endurance, scores in running, in jumping, and in performing certain athletic feats, a variety of measures of health status or of physical fitness has been developed. Few of these indices of health are in wide or consistent use. While, presumably, it is possible to measure anything that exists, the fact remains that the quantifying of health has proved most elusive. One reason for the present difficulty is that good health is not so much an objective, measurable quantity as it is a subjective, intellectual inference. This characteristic also applies to disease. The particular disease with which a patient is suffering can be determined not by multiplying measurements of the patient and combining them into an index, but by having the patient examined by a competent diagnostician. All of the patient's symptoms are brought together in the mind of the diagnostician as a "syndrome" from which the nature and name of the ailment are inferred. While, of course, maximum use should be made of every sort of measurement available, it seems just to conclude that good health is also a "syndrome" which must be inferred from symptoms of good health by the competent nurse and physician.

SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICES AND PROGRAMS

The phase of social welfare which aims primarily at the improvement of the health of children and youth is the school health program. Is it not remarkable that the school, a social institution begun originally as an agency to give children and youth an education in the intellectual or academic sense, should have come to include within its functions the extensive and varied activities which make up the health program of the present day? This enlargement of the

school's function has gone on step by step with the extension of education to the children of underprivileged families, with the weakening and breakdown of the family under the weight of the economic crisis, and with the rapid strides that science has made in the control and prevention of communicable diseases and in the correction of remediable defects. The fact that the school is a social institution which possesses legal control over the large majority of the children of the community accounts in no small measure for the frequency with which programs of social welfare seek to be introduced into the schools. As the school health program has grown, it has come into conflict with other social institutions upon the vested interests of which it has encroached, notably the family and the family physician. In most considerations of school health services and programs, the point is made repeatedly that these services are designed primarily for the education of the child and of his parents in health, that remediable defects shall be discovered, that the responsibility for the correction of these defects shall be placed upon the parents, and that treatment and curative procedures shall be carried out by the family physician. Such treatment as is given in the school health program is justified as emergency or temporary, with the implication that such treatment will cease as soon as some other provision is made available. There is, however, a steady increase in the number of parents who are unable to afford the medical services necessary for the correction of defects found in their children and who, for the same reason, do not have a family physician. These families, therefore, must choose between doing without medical attention and getting cared for by clinics or other social agencies.

An effective school health program should include the following services: periodic health examinations, preferably by a physician, otherwise children should be inspected by the school nurse or by the classroom teacher and those who show signs of physical defects identified for more detailed attention; daily health inspection of all

pupils and students for the prevention and control of communicable disease; weighing and measuring of all pupils at definite intervals as a basis for identifying any marked departures from normal growth; immunization against smallpox and diphtheria; education in the care of the teeth and the correction of dental defects where such service is not otherwise available; a school lunch, provided at cost, for children who cannot go home for it and for those children who might not otherwise have a satisfactory one; a mental-hygiene program, articulated with the classroom instruction, for the prevention and control of incipient mental deviations and behavior difficulties, and adequate follow-up work among those parents who are known to be financially able to correct the remediable defects found in their children. It is to be assumed that the foregoing services will be accompanied constantly by a continuous program of education for health. The nurse shares with other members of the school personnel responsibility for the educational phase of the health program.

TYPES OF SPECIAL PROBLEMS AND PROVISIONS FOR SOME OF THEM

In addition to the general protection and care that should be given to all children and youth, there is special protection and care that should be given to certain children whose special relationships and problems are exceptional. The children who need special care are the victims of the stresses, strains, and shocks which the family as a social institution must receive in present-day industrial life. It should constantly be borne in mind that our present economic system, similar in many respects to a wild animal on the rampage, drives forward on its relentless way, without regard for the effects of its course upon our social institutions. As a consequence, there is no social institution that does not bear the scars, cracks, weaknesses, and distortions that result from being bumped and trampled upon by our economic system. Often one or both of the parents die while the children are young, frequently the chief wage earner meets with

a crippling or fatal accident; chronic illness reduces the family to destitution; unemployment or irregularity of employment deprives the family of vital necessities; sometimes mental disorders develop which break up the family; sometimes also one of the parents, no longer able to sustain the burden, will desert the home. These and similar eventualities, which shatter and wreck the home, have disastrous consequences for the children affected. It cannot be too frequently reiterated that public-health nurses, social workers, visiting teachers, and others should guard against accepting superficial, ready-made explanations for these social conditions. More specifically, such phases as "unfavorable home conditions," "broken home," "father unemployed," "mother a chronic invalid" should be regarded as effects and not in any sense as causes. The real cause is that explanatory principle which relates all these "misfortunes" and "accidents" into a coherent unity. The alert, courageous worker in the field of child health and welfare should not be content until this principle has been uncovered. While working diligently on individual problems, nurses, social workers, and others should at all times think of these problems in terms of the social system and background which make such work necessary.

HEALTH EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

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In our own community and county with a population of mixed nationalities still clinging to the ancient traditions and customs of *their forefathers*, there is much to be done in health education. To change the attitudes and ideas of these groups requires slow but thorough organization and instruction. If an interest in a health program could be created among the mothers, by helping them to solve their immediate health problems in the home, there would be no limit to the growth of the program. With this idea in mind the organization of a health program was begun.

The American Red Cross seemed the best qualified organization in the county to furnish the instruction. They were prepared to furnish a textbook with graduate nurses as instructors and a course in Home Hygiene and Care of the Sick, on three levels:

1. The standard course for those capable of preparing the work as outlined in the text
2. A modified course for those with a limited knowledge of English
3. A junior course for boys and girls in grades seven to ten inclusive

These courses are definitely planned to continue over a period of fifteen to eighteen weeks, meeting once each week for a period of two hours. Regular attendance and the successful passing of a written or oral examination entitle the student to a certificate at the completion of the course.

Four years ago the Red Cross, with the assistance of local agencies, began these courses with volunteer instructors and a limited amount of capital. Until the program was absorbed by the adult-education division under the WPA, travelling expenses were too high to permit instructors to wander far from the home office, but the groundwork was well done. Then instructors were paid a sal-

ary, many more were employed, and the program was carried to every part of the county. Over an uninterrupted period of one and a half years there were forty-two classes organized, six nurses employed as instructors, and 973 persons (mostly mothers and expectant mothers) had completed the course and were granted certificates.

These course were not limited to the textbook alone. Field trips were taken to hospitals and clinics; there were house-to-house visitations, including bedside nursing, inspection of homes and tenements; community clean-ups were sponsored; household sanitation in bedrooms, kitchens, bathrooms, and yards were projects of these classes. An outstanding project, of the competitive type, was the preparation of a three-day menu for an expectant mother on a food budget of twelve dollars per week for a family of four, which included two children. One hundred and one mothers participated in this project; competition was keen and results interesting. These field trips and projects created a desire among the students to practise in their homes and communities what they learned in the classroom.

Lincoln House, a community center in the Fifth Ward of our county seat, has attacked the health situation among the one thousand Negro population with much force. The area in which these people live is already overcrowded, the houses and apartments have deteriorated, and the general structural conditions are unsatisfactory. This is reflected in high sickness and death rates. Until the program at Lincoln House, this area was known for its vice operations, with a high percentage of syphilis in both children and adults.

One of the first workers added to the staff was a trained nurse, paid with WPA funds, who assembled the women into classes for health instruction, conducted a clinic in the center, visited and advised mothers, encouraged those in the early stages of syphilis to attend the hospital, distributed literature on various diseases, arranged to show motion pictures to educate the people concerning

their health; in general, the nurse led the way to better health. One of the outstanding features has been the observance of Health Week in April when a united effort is made to clean the homes, yards, alleys, and streets, and to have the families visit their physician, dentist, and optometrist or oculist for examination. This past April a free clinic was held in one of the hospitals which was attended by one hundred twenty-five persons from the area of Lincoln House.

What has been the effect of this program among these people? The nurse reports that there is a remarkable improvement in the general health. There is more syphilis than is wanted, but the encouraging thing is that many have found out that they have the disease and are doing something about it. Persons who otherwise would not, are taking treatments as a result of the persuasion and direction of the nurse and the knowledge they have gained from literature and class instruction. Likewise, the same thing may be said of other diseases; the people are learning what to do even to avoiding and fighting the common cold.

An interesting organization, the Home Hygiene Club, developed in the northern part of the county, composed of those who completed the course in Home Hygiene and Care of the Sick. This group made an investigation into the health needs in that particular area. They found five schools with a total enrollment of 1,495 children without any health or nursing facilities. The group immediately organized and sponsored a health program for these children for the next school term. The program consisted of

1. Measurement of weights and heights of children
2. Administering of toxoid to the first three grades
3. Organization of a well-baby clinic
4. Treatment for the prevention of diphtheria
5. Administering of vision tests to determine those handicapped in schoolwork by defective vision
6. Providing opportunity for older girls, who are considering nursing as a profession, to assist in the program and thus enable them to determine their vocation

The committee in charge is actively engaged in organizing adult classes for the health course. Accurate records are filed and information is collected on every case. In every respect this program has been successful. The foundation of the most extensive health program ever attempted in this area is being completed.

When an eighty-two-year-old woman will walk one mile once per week for five months and not miss a single meeting, when adults become so enthusiastic that they organize new classes of their own accord, when they write letters of praise for the course, telling how they were helped in solving their own personal health problems, there is reason to believe that these people appreciated the opportunity afforded them and that the course of study was well organized and presented. One young woman is employed as a child's nurse after having completed the course in Home Hygiene and Care of the Sick.

A large group in a small isolated community expressed so much enthusiasm for the program that it seemed advisable to organize them into a political club. An application for a charter revealed that the purpose of the club was to promote the civic, educational, and recreational activities of the community. The charter was not granted.

There is no doubt about the success of this health program to date, but what has the future in store for such a splendid beginning? New classes were organized and a few weeks later orders were issued to reduce the number of nurses on the pay rolls of the WPA. Today there is one nurse left on this fine project. Those who were removed from the pay rolls have consented to carry on without pay, at least until the present classes have completed the course. Then what? Unless funds are forthcoming from some source the whole program will stop. This seems to be the outcome of most educational programs financed by WPA funds. Had this program been financed and expanded for one more year under the present leadership, there is every indication that adults would be

willing to pay a small fee for the privilege of attending these classes. The enthusiasm and leadership in the various groups would be the means of establishing a complete health program in the schools, churches, homes, industrial plants, business places, and the community in general.

When people are being taught to help themselves and seem willing to do so, is it not a good policy to have them continue? During the past few years we have debated the problem of socialized medicine in all parts of America. Socialized medicine may have a place in society, but a spontaneous, growing health program in a community with a spirit of cooperation has greater potentialities.

A STUDY OF THE HEALTH PROGRAM¹ IN THE LABORATORY SCHOOLS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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The health program for pupils in the Laboratory Schools is the joint responsibility of classroom teachers, physical-education teachers, school physicians, and leaders of recreation clubs. It is informal in the kindergarten and first four years, and formal beginning with the fifth year. The program is described under three general divisions—Health Instruction, Body Mechanics, and Health Service and Supervision.

I. HEALTH INSTRUCTION

The Informal Program. Children in the junior and senior kindergartens are under the direction of kindergarten teachers throughout the school day. With junior groups much emphasis is placed on the formation of desirable habits of personal hygiene and practices conducive to health. Children are closely supervised in order that proper habits, practices, and regularity may be established promptly.

Following the toilet period the children retire to a well-aired room where they have a cup of water served in individual cups. They then obtain their own rugs and lie down for a rest period of fifteen minutes daily. Instruction and supervision in the proper use of lavatories suggest that hands are washed before the relaxation period.

Due emphasis relating to desirable health practices in the junior kindergarten simplifies somewhat the problems in the senior kindergarten and early elementary years where health habits are given an important place. In these grades health instruction has emphasis as

¹ *Physical Education and Health of School Children* Publications of the Laboratory Schools, University of Chicago, May 1936

the occasion requires in both academic and physical education. Instruction is generally individual as the teacher observes the need for health information and improved health practices. Group instruction is provided as there is opportunity for class discussion and activities.

The Formal Program. Formal health instruction in the form of a special course is offered in the fifth year and in selected units in science courses of the high school. In lower grades little attention is given to the reasons for the health practices which children are required to observe. At the fifth-grade level sustained interest in health habits and practices demand an understanding of the principles on which the laws are based.

The plan of instruction for the fifth-grade and high-school science classes follows closely that described by Professor H. C. Morrison³ for instruction in science-type subjects. To get best results each teacher modifies and adapts instruction to the situation which has developed. Variations in method aim to secure some emotional reaction or skill not readily obtained by the science-type procedure.

Each unit in a science course is selected to bring about some improvement in thinking and behavior. Pupil activities are selected by the teacher. As a rule they are incorporated into assignment sheets or "Guide for Study" for the use of individual pupils.

The classroom procedure as described consists of four phases: (1) preparation for study, (2) study, (3) evaluation of results, and (4) application of newly acquired knowledge. Details of procedure depend on the teacher and the unit studied. There is no sharp division of time between laboratory and recitation periods.

The Fifth-Grade Health Course. The course in health education⁴ for the fifth grade has a time allotment of thirty minutes a day during one semester. The teaching procedure consists largely of experi-

³ Henry C. Morrison, *The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School* (revised, Chicago The University of Chicago Press, 1931)

⁴ The terms health instruction and health education are apparently used synonymously

ments by the children and demonstrations by the instructor in the science laboratory. The units of work are so outlined that each pupil may progress at his own speed. The course includes a study of first-aid materials and practices, the heart and circulation, respiration, exercise, fatigue, posture, digestion, foods, and food content

II. BODY MECHANICS

In addition to health instruction there is a program in "body mechanics" or "the mechanical correlation and functioning of the various systems of the body." This program, much more extensive and thorough than in most school systems, is largely preventive. Children in need of corrective treatment are given special attention within their respective groups. Appropriate activities within the regular physical-education program are considered more effective than those of special corrective classes.

Improvement in Posture. The problem of preventing poor posture belongs to the teachers and school physicians. In solving that problem there is a felt need for a clear understanding on the part of pupils as to the conditions and practices which affect posture. During physical examinations the physician rates each pupil for general posture—excellent, good, poor, or bad, according to standards published by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. Although not precise, these ratings are helpful in arousing a pupil's interest in improving his postural positions.

Education in Body Mechanics Education in body mechanics starts during physical examinations when pupils begin to learn the meaning of good posture. Many fail to assume and maintain good posture because they are unable to recognize it in others. In attempting to demonstrate good posture children often assume strained and unnatural positions which they cannot and should not maintain. During the physical examinations on or near a child's birthday the physician tries to make him "posture conscious" and to explain the importance of good body mechanics.

All teachers assist in carrying out this program in elementary grades. Aside from keeping the children conscious of their posture, they work with individual pupils. Children with defective hearing or sight are so placed in classrooms that their defects may not force them into strained positions in attempting to hear or see.

In connection with the related subject matter the pupils are instructed to assume the correct sitting and standing positions. They rate each other, make drawings to illustrate excellent, good, poor, and bad postures, and list the body positions described in each illustration. They write a paragraph to show their attitude toward and knowledge of body mechanics. At the end of the unit of study test questions on body mechanics are answered by the pupils.

Occasional meetings of parents are used for lectures and discussions of body mechanics. These meetings help parents to understand the school program and bring about better coöperation between the home and school. Parents are informed of the relation between posture and general health, nutrition, fatigue, sleep, rest, diet, disease, clothing, and exercise. As many of these factors are beyond the control of the school, the coöperation of parents is of great importance.

III. HEALTH SERVICE AND SUPERVISION

Health service and supervision is provided by two full-time physicians. A woman physician examines the girls and a man physician the boys, but this division is not always observed in caring for pupils. There are two or more physical examinations during the year, one at the beginning of the school year, a more thorough one on each child's birthday, and special examinations as occasions require.

Medical History For educational and medical purposes a medical history seems of great importance, especially for young children. This includes data concerning birth, development, habits, and social and emotional problems. All information of this nature is recorded on the pupil's master card which serves as a cumulative record.

First Aid. Although school physicians render first-aid service of all kinds they are chiefly concerned with the care of injuries. In a case of serious injury, necessary first aid is given and the parents are advised to have the child treated by their own physician.

Other Health Problems. In addition to physical examinations and first-aid service the physicians determine which pupils shall be excused from physical activity. They restrict also the use of the swimming pool and showers, and are largely concerned with the control of communicable diseases.

CRITICAL REACTIONS TO THE HEALTH PROGRAM IN THE LABORATORY SCHOOLS

Although necessarily brief, the above description of the health program in the Laboratory Schools may serve to suggest improvement of health education in other situations. The close integration of physical education and the health program seems most commendable. Although perhaps too detailed and expensive for general adoption, certain divisions of the health program have many worthy features.

Through the employment of two full-time physicians, an hour is allotted for the physical examination. This liberal provision is in wide contrast to that in many public schools where children are too often examined at the rate of one a minute. It may be doubted, however, whether a health program can be entirely satisfactory without the services of a dentist and at least one dental nurse. It is claimed that the program in Body Mechanics is largely preventive, yet no mention is made of the overwhelming need for dental service.

Health Instruction versus Education. The issue may be raised as to the extent which this program involves health education beyond the fourth grade. It has long been axiomatic that knowledge about desirable health practices has little relation to its application. A child may understand the need for dental cleanliness, the right selection of foods, and fresh air in his bedroom without putting

forth any effort to apply this knowledge. His home environment, so closely bound up with family habits, attitudes, and financial problems, is a far more potent determiner of behavior than anything learned at school. A test in science does not measure individual practices.

Although formal instruction beginning with the fifth year has an important place in health education, it may be doubted whether this alone is sufficient in higher elementary grades or even high school. Most school systems include pupils of widely different social, racial, and economic levels, where both formal and informal types of teaching are absolutely necessary.

Naturally, the health program is adapted to the needs of pupils, but if the health situation in Chicago varies widely from that found in most school systems, that fact should be stated. From the description one is led to conclude that pupils are largely molded and fashioned as inanimate objects rather than living human beings. A much larger responsibility for health education and accident prevention will gladly be assumed by the children than is usually permitted them. There are many classroom problems which the children can help to solve but no reference seems to be made to them. Nothing is said about provision for school lunches or how they are conducted.

Accident Prevention. No program of health education seems complete unless it includes the teaching of accident prevention. In most schools considerable emphasis is placed on traffic hazards and making the child conscious of dangers about him. General rules and advice about crossing streets, playing in public highways, "hitching rides," and other dangerous practices should be understood by children. They can with profit be repeated at frequent intervals. Safety education must be regarded as an essential of the present-day curriculum, the application of which should largely be assumed by the pupils themselves

Mental Health It may properly be assumed that health is a wholesome type of living. The curriculum provides a series of experiences

through which the child learns to live wholesomely and purposefully. Education in general and health education in particular should concern itself with the child's total development, both physical and mental. Every activity during the child's day and every school situation influences the child for good or bad. Due recognition of this relationship does not appear in the health program for the Laboratory Schools.

Although textbook knowledge is important, it is even more essential "that the child be taught to live at peace with himself and those about him." Otherwise his energies may be utilized in mental and physical conflicts until he has little energy left with which to make a contribution of his own. Children in need of mental adjustment may be found in all groups regardless of general ability but few teachers are trained to discover them. A health program which concerns itself chiefly if not wholly with physical welfare fails to recognize the child's emotional needs and strivings. A child's attitude is changed through influences from within rather than from those projected upon him by outside forces.

NEW TRENDS IN SOCIAL RESEARCH—SOME HYPOTHESES AND SOME SOCIOMETRIC SCALES

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Ignorant and illiterate people sometimes purchase pince-nez because they consider the possession and display of these things proof of refinement and high social status. Thus they interpret the meaning of nose glasses as articles of adornment, serving much the same purpose as a necklace, a brooch, a stickpin, or a membership emblem, being aware only vaguely of the real functional purpose of the glasses, which is to correct imperfect vision. How many professional people, teachers, and social workers approach their professional activities in the same thoughtless spirit and vague understanding? What is the functional purpose that justifies social work or teaching? Is social work justified because it attains certain objectives that promote individual adjustment and social welfare? If so, are the objectives of each form of social work, as well as teaching, clearly stated, widely understood, and generally accepted? Much of the value of social and educational effort assumes clearly stated objectives, wide understanding of these, and general agreement on their value

It is upon such an assumption as this that people contribute to the support of private social agencies and private schools by gifts, and to the support of public social agencies and public schools by tax payments. Should not they insist that there be some test of the results other than the verbal opinions of the executive head of the agency or the annual report of the school superintendent? Is it a question of the people's getting their money's worth? Do they get their money's worth? Or is that the question which really matters?

Why bother with statistics, accounting, or social audit? Sufficient

unto the technique is the pleasure thereof. If it costs money to support a social program, a social agency, or an educational activity, is not the valid justification to be found in the paid employment it gives to teachers and social workers and in the time-killing values of protracted board meetings, or in the illusion of social usefulness it creates in the minds of leisure-class or lay persons who serve on boards? Teaching and social work give many people something to do. Social work particularly deals with relations that are emotionally stimulating and satisfying because they consist of human contacts that a fast encroaching machine environment threatens to curtail, not by the elimination of them, but in making them more artificial and less real. Thus social work revivifies life by making it possible to bring into the range of personal experience human contacts otherwise denied to many fortunate individuals in the economically more secure social classes. To be sure, much of this experience is vicarious, but even so it is vastly more real than reading a novel of how the other half lives.

These questions may, of course, be dismissed as cynical. But is the problem as simple as that? Who will deny the social values of direct personal contact in informal interviews, or the sense of well-being that people experience in settlement-club work? Is not satisfaction in performance on the job after all a reasonable justification for much social work and teaching, both by professional and lay persons?

Suppose we shift the point of our scrutiny of motivation to the area of preventive medicine and ask the question whether vaccination and quarantine are such pleasurable activities for public-health workers as to be their own justification. The absurdity of the matter is at once evident. But does not the juxtaposition of these incongruous things bring us back to the question of function? To what extent are we doing social work or teaching because of satisfaction in its performance, and to what extent are we doing social work or teaching because it leads to *certain gains* that are as valuable to the

individual treated as is the sure prevention of the spread of infections by the use of public-health measures? Let us not confuse the two functions and try to justify the pursuance of one by the satisfactions of the other.

Educators who try to be honest with themselves have come to the conclusion that systematic school education does not raise the level of intelligence by training all children in the acquisition of knowledge and mental skills. The educational system seems to act as a selective agency that in successive years screens out those who are incapable of further improvement or learning. Except for those individuals who have lacked opportunity for continued education and those who have dropped out because of economic or other external circumstance, the amount of education in years that a person has achieved is a fair measure of mental ability. There are, of course, some exceptions whenever institutions of low standard promote individuals of mediocre mental ability. In such cases the possession of an education is merely the possession of an emblem of adornment which it is expected will elicit from associates reactions of approval that are ordinarily called forth by any evidences of high social status. Here the real social function of education is obscured or misunderstood.

The questions we have raised about the justification for teaching or for social work bring us inevitably to the further query. To what extent does the existence of a vaguely worthy end justify increased skill in the performance of an ineffectual service? Unless the objective is clearly defined how do we know that efforts to improve our skill and technique are not efforts that enable us to do with greater and greater satisfaction a job that is not worth doing because it is not oriented to a clearly defined and attainable end? Why not give more time to efforts to check up on or measure the degree to which our means achieve pragmatic ends?

The substance of the foregoing remarks is to suggest that in education we have underestimated the part that original native ability

plays in formal education, and to suggest that in social work we have underestimated the role of natural recuperative social processes of an all-surrounding society in the restoration of maladjusted individuals. May we not be justified, therefore, in the hypothesis that there exist in society certain natural recuperative processes that do operate through social absorption to effect restoration? We have only begun to utilize these processes in social casework therapy and in social group-work therapy.

We need methods by which we may describe these natural recuperative social processes. They have not been described adequately by the techniques of social casework and group work. Fortunately sociologists and some social workers have begun the construction of tools of research that can be used to describe these processes.

But before going on we need to distinguish between tools and methods, between instruments and procedures. Doctors use a direct *method* of interview to obtain information as well as a laboratory *method* of blood analysis. Doctors also use such *tools* or instruments of description as a mouth thermometer, a stethoscope, a machine to measure the patient's blood pressure, etc. These *tools* are instruments of precision that give precise description of some of the patient's symptoms. A Negro or a white nurse will get the same result by testing the temperature of the same patient when using a standardized thermometer. A Jewish or Catholic doctor gets the same result on the same patient with a Wassermann test.

Now the various sociometric scales to measure attitudes, adjustment, morale, home environment, social status, and participation are in reality *tools or instruments of observation* just as truly as are the mouth thermometer, the stethoscope, etc., of the doctor. These tools also are standardized! *They are reliable*—for example, the social-status scale repeated on the same homes gives the same results by the same observers or by different observers. Correlations of scores by the same visitor, B1B2, give $r=+.98$; and M1M2 give $r=+.99$. Correlations of scores by two observers, B, M, give

$r = +.90$, two visits, V_1V_2 , give $r = +.98$ on 46 Indianapolis homes by students. *They are valid*—viz., the social-status scale correlates with the independently made judgment of visitors of the Minnesota State Children's Bureau on 29 foster homes: $C = .61$, B_1 -serial $r = .67$. Even subjective part II of the social-status scale, on condition of the living room gives: V_1 and V_2 , reliability of $r = +.97$ on 46 Indianapolis homes by students, $r = +.96$ on 29 St. Paul homes by CWA visitors, $r = +.72$ on 50 Minneapolis relief homes B_1M_1 ; and for validity a bi-serial r of $= +.47$ on 13 variable classes for 41 homes use overcrowded with 24 homes non-use overcrowded.¹

In short we have now ready some sociometric scales that are instruments of somewhat precise observation. Unfortunately, these sociometric tools are for the most part unused by sociologists and social workers in research and practice.

The reasons why these sociometric scales are not used more in social research or by social workers in practice need to be examined. Ignorance of their existence is one reason. Many sociologists are still preoccupied with research in pure theory, or in the "exploratory descriptive research" of surveys and population counts. Most social workers are preoccupied with problems of the minute. Resistance to the use of these scales exists. The lack of scientific training of most sociologists and their neo-scholastic ideologies are obstacles. Social workers resent the implication that these scales or mechanical devices can supplant individual judgment based on practical professional training and successful experience.

But the point is these sociometric scales are not intended to supplant individual judgment of the competent professional practitioner.

Do the thermometer and stethoscope destroy the role of the skilled physician and make it possible for one to call in the janitor

¹ The means on part II were —.743 = M_1 for 41 use-overcrowded homes,
—0.58 = M_2 for 24 homes with living room not otherwise used

or a plumber for medical services? The thermometer and stethoscope merely supplement the judgment of the experienced physician by supplying additional diagnostic instruments of observation and precision. Similarly, the sociometric scales are supplementary diagnostic instruments to aid in diagnosis.

Granting this, of what practical value then is a given scale in diagnosing or in treating a single maladjusted individual? You do not put the scale into his mouth; how then do you use it? The answer is, first, that the readings on the scale give us a community norm for comparison; secondly, we obtain a score on an individual or person or family or home; thirdly, we may then find out how far our individual case departs from the norm of the community or neighborhood; and finally, we may find out whether our client is less or more abnormal or adjusted *after our treatment*.³

These normal or natural recuperative social processes mentioned earlier—just what are they, how can they be described for purposes of research or professional practice? The sociometric scales that give us readings on the social situation, on the neighborhood, on the environment of the community supply the means whereby we may identify these natural recuperative social processes, because they enable us to compare the individual with the community trend or norm. Let us consider a series of propositions to illustrate this.

The effect of lack of normal social contacts with the group life and institutions of the neighborhood and the community is to isolate the individual and to cause personal maladjustment and low morale.⁴ The effect of lack of normal reciprocities of personal relationship within the family is to weaken its cohesion and organization.⁴ The effect of going up or down socially is tied into the

³ Consult F. Stuart Chapin, "The Effect of Slum Clearance on Family and Community Relationships in Minneapolis," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44:5 (March 1938).

⁴ *Scales to measure* (1) amount of group contact and (2) the psychological effects are: Social participation scale (Chapin), group adjustment scale (Newstetter), attitude scales toward the family, the school, the church, etc. (Kirkpatrick, Thurstone, etc.), general adjustment scale (Sletto), morale scale (Sletto).

⁴ *Scales to measure* Kirkpatrick, Mrs. Bernard, etc.

presence of inferiority feelings, internal conflicts, neurotic reactions, and maladjustment of the individual.⁵ The effect of successful foster-home placement is to secure adjustment by placing the child in a home that is itself an organic part of the neighborhood or community in which it is situated so that the foster child picks up naturally the contacts and status of the home and is absorbed into the community by its natural recuperative social processes. Consequently, the foster home should not have such a high social status that upon the child's return to contacts with relatives he feels superior to them or dreads to be demoted socially.⁶ Examples of the use of sociometric scales to describe the fabric of community relationships which is the environment of persons either in a rural community, a village, or a city are cited in the list of references that follows. These examples suggest how such scales may be used to describe the assumed natural recuperative social processes of an all-surrounding society.

SELECTED REFERENCES ON SOCIOMETRIC SCALES TO MEASURE
THE SOCIAL TRAITS LISTED

1. *The family (scales not calibrated)*

Jessie Bernard, "An Instrument for the Measurement of Success in Marriage," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXVII (May 1933), 94-106

Clifford Kirkpatrick, "Community of Interest and the Measurement of Marriage Adjustment," *The Family*, 18 4 (June 1937), 133-137.

2. *Friendship choices and constellations (not scales, only method)*

George A. Lundberg and Margaret Lawsing, "The Sociometry of Some Community Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 2 3 (June 1937), 318-335

J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive? A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations*. Washington, D. C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1934, xvi + 440 pages.

Sociometry, Vol. 1, no. 1-2 (Beacon, N. Y., P. O. Box J), contains many articles illustrating the Moreno technique.

⁵ *Scales to measure*: (1) Going up or down socially, Mrs. Shea's scale to measure urban home environment, Chapin's social status scale, (2) reactions of adjustment and morale, Rundquist-Sletto scales

⁶ *Scales to measure*: Social status scales or scales of home environment, social participation scale (Chapin)

3. *Home environment and social status (score cards and calibrated scales)*

Dorothy Dickens, "Living Rooms of Low-Income Farm Families of Mississippi," *Journal of Home Economics*, 29, 10 (December 1937), 702-709 (Uses Chapin scale.)

F. Stuart Chapin, *The Measurement of Social Status* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1933).

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F. Stuart Chapin, *The Social Participation Scale* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1937).

Alice Leahy Shea, *The Measurement of Urban Home Environment* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936)

Alice Leahy Shea, *The Minnesota Home Status Index* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936).

V. M. Sims, *The Measurement of Socio-Economic Status* (Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1928)

V. M. Sims, *Sims Score Card for Socio Economic Status*.

4. *Morale and general adjustment (calibrated scales)*

E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, *Personality in the Depression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936), 398 pages

E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, *Minnesota Scale for the Survey of Opinions* (mimeographed short form) (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)

5. *Neighborhood (score card not calibrated)*

Jessie Bernard, "An Instrument for the Measurement of Neighborhood with Experimental Applications," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 18: 4 (September 1937).

6. *Play group (technique of study, no score card)*

W. I. Newstetter, "An Experiment in Defining and Measuring Group Adjustment," *American Sociological Review*, 2: 2 (April 1937), 230-236.

7. *Participation in clubs, groups, and institutions (score card)*

F. Stuart Chapin, *The Social Participation Scale* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1937)

BOOK REVIEWS

Mentality and Homosexuality, by SAMUEL KAHN. Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1937, 249 pages.

This study purports to be a scientific survey of the methods used in gathering data concerning incarcerated homosexuals in two of the institutions of New York City. The author, a former member of the psychiatric division of the New York City Department of Correction, studied about five hundred cases of which some seventy-five were selected for more detailed investigation. The study was made during the period, 1922-1926. The utter absence of truly scientific method renders the book valueless as a contribution to its field. It is unfortunate that so pertinent a problem should have been handled in such a weak manner. Dr. Kahn's conclusions are based largely upon his previous opinions and these are tinged deeply with a Freudian dye. The authors most frequently quoted include Kraft-Ebbing, Havelock Ellis, and Freud—an indication of the depth of the volume! The book lacks an index and one wonders just what happened to the proofreader.

Manual for Southern Regions, by LEE M. BROOKS. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937, 193 pages.

The *Manual for Southern Regions* is designed to accompany *Southern Regions of the United States*, by Howard W. Odum, and is a workbook. It is an indispensable guide to the use of the original volume as a text in university classes since it consists of numerous questions primarily on facts and monograph interpretations. It also provides space for notes of the student and makes possible an effective use of the larger text. It is of value mainly to the student of the larger text as a class aid.

The League Fiasco, by VICTOR MARGUERITTE. Translated by Mrs. N. MACFARLANE. London: William Hodge and Company, Limited, 1936, 284 pages.

Hundreds of books have been written about the League—a cold summary of events, an impassioned defense, or a bitter denunciation. This book falls in none of these categories despite its title. It does summarize the rise and fall of the League but the recording of events is subordinated to their significance as both cause and effect. The League is denounced

and defended with the skill of a jurist. The annihilation of Wilson's 14 Points, the heritage of hate in which it was launched, and the failure of sanctions form the debit side of the ledger; the long struggle of mankind for some guarantee of peace, the ideal of collective security, and the non-political accomplishments of the League comprise the credit on the balance sheet. The League is dead; long live the League! Not the League born in hate and dominated by economic imperialism; but a League to be reborn in the spirit of justice and controlled by humanitarian principles.

The Price of European Peace, by FRANK DARVALL. London: William Hodge and Company, Limited, 1937, 181 pages.

The author of this extremely thought-provoking little volume has made a brutally frank analysis of the policies and present status of both the "have" and the "have-not" nations. He has proposed a sweeping reorganization of international relations not on the basis of the now discredited League of Nations, but with a new and powerful centralized government. The book will be criticized by those who support present imperialistic policies as well as by the realists who assert that lesser problems must be attacked first. May it not be, however, that the world has advanced so near the abyss of another holocaust that no mere patching can avoid the final rending of the veil of Mars?

Introduction to the Social Studies: an Elementary Textbook for Professional and Preparatory Groups, by JOSEPH K. HART. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937, 203 pages.

This book is designed for would-be members "of the social professions," doctors, nurses, lawyers, ministers, teachers, engineers, whom the author looks upon as potential teachers of the public because they will be "engaged in either strengthening or weakening the foundations of society." Professor Hart confines his treatment to the "*skeletal framework*" of the present-day social order, pointing out that to grasp its inner meaning and significance the student must resort to the various social sciences. These he names and characterizes in a concluding chapter. The essentially problem nature of society is emphasized and the student is impressed with his individual responsibility for solving its problems.

The Elements of Research, by FREDERICK L. WHITNEY. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937, 616 pages.

This text represents a very valuable addition to treatments of this topic. Although the copious references and illustrations are taken largely from the field of education, the treatment is general in scope. The topics dealt with include: Thinking, Science and Research; Research Traits and Abilities; The Problem; Analysis of Previous Research; Research Procedures (Descriptive, Historical, Experimental, Philosophical, Prognostic, Curriculum, Sociological, Creative); Classification of Material; The Research Report. Each topic is thoroughly and soundly treated, with good practical emphasis and provision of thought-provoking exercises.

An Introduction to Modern Education, by CHARLES E. SKINNER, R. EMERSON LANGFITT, and others. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1937, 491 pages.

Books tend to appear in cycles. In 1928, three texts for orientation courses made their bid for the textbook field. In 1937, another group of texts has already been published. There is, however, a marked difference reflecting a fundamental change that has taken place in all education as well as in the orientation field: the new books give major attention to the sociological approach, stress the social function of the school, and emphasize the need of coordinating all of the agencies of the community.

The introductory chapter by Dean W. Withers forcefully presents this point of view; the various chapters on the specific problems of education present in detail the implications of this approach. The book will not only prove an excellent text, but will be of genuine value to teachers and administrators.

Newcomers and Nomads in California, by WILLIAM T. CROSS and DOROTHY E. CROSS. California: Stanford University Press, 1937, 149 pages.

The problem of the transient laborer is not new. Thousands of workers, often with large families, have trekked annually from place to place following seasonal agricultural employment. However, two new factors have materially changed the problem. One is the depression, made all the more acute for many by the ravages of the dust storms; the other is

the allotment of Federal funds through the Relief Act of 1933 and succeeding provisions for permanent, model camps for the transient worker.

This book is an interesting, factual description of the relief situation, legislative action, and the accomplishments of the "Nomad Camps." It is an important contribution to the field of social service.

Unemployment in the Learned Professions, by WALTER M. KOT-SCHNIG. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937, 347 pages.

With the exception of the U.S.S.R., some of the British Dominions, a few of the smaller countries of Europe, China, and the Latin-American countries, the work reports the high points of the world investigation of unemployment in the learned professions. It is significant that the survey was the "first attempt" to gather information throughout the world on a problem of such vital importance to society. A table on the increased frequency of students in total population of each country dispels any notion that the higher student enrollments might be laid to population increases. In fact, "the considerable increase in student enrollments coincides with a very marked decline of the birth rate in the Western countries," and "the prevailing low birth rate, therefore, foreshadows further high student enrollments." Numerous other interesting facts can be found throughout the work, which has brought together an extraordinary amount of factual material. The book constitutes an almost indispensable document for any one who wishes to understand where our higher education is heading.

Kit Brandon, by SHERWOOD ANDERSON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936, 373 pages.

Kit Brandon is the story of the rise and fall, or perhaps redemption, of a female rum-running member of a gang in the prohibition era. Kit and Tom Halsey, her boss, are the protagonists, while the other characters are simply used as foils.

The book ends rather naively with the suggestion that Kit's problem will be solved by getting a job, and meeting "some one other puzzled and baffled one" with whom she could make a real partnership in living.

Comparing the book to a case record, we would say that Mr. Anderson has written a fairly good background of Miss Brandon, if one, of course, likes Mr. Anderson's choppy style. But her problem of adjustment in normal society is still unsolved.

Cooperative Democracy, by JAMES PETER WARBASSE. New York. Harper and Brothers, 1936, 285 pages.

The author has made an excellent, readable, yet factual analysis of the principles, methods, and accomplishments of cooperation. He summarizes the relation of cooperation to profit-making business, to various labor movements, and to the State. The concluding section on the larger possibilities of cooperation is a forward-looking statement of what the author envisions for the future of the movement.

Man, Bread, and Destiny, by C. C. and S. M. FURNAS. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company, 1937, 364 pages.

Although not written specifically from the point of view of consumer education, this book is a very significant contribution to the literature in this field. In a delightfully entertaining style the authors present the effect of food upon world civilization, nations, and the individual. The chapter on "Gullible's Travels" is a clever arraignment of dangerous fads.

40,000,000 Guinea Pig Children, by I. M. ALPHER and RACHEL PALMER. New York: Vanguard Press, 1937.

This is another exposé of the spurious claims made by advertisers of commercial products such as foods, toilet accessories, and clothing. It contrasts such claims with the results of laboratory tests. It follows the general pattern of the earlier book, *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs*, but includes only commodities used for children.

Co-op, by UPTON SINCLAIR. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936, 426 pages.

The author has, in this novel, departed from his usual controversial style. He has written an interesting and convincing story of a cooperative by realistic description of the people who work in it.

Fresh Furrow, by BURRIS JENKINS. Chicago. Willett, Clark and Company, 1936, 257 pages.

This is an excellent illustration of the utilization of the novel to mold attitudes so subtly that the reader is at no time aware of the real purpose. It is the story of a young college graduate and his experiences in the organization and development of a cooperative.

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